DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 078 167 VT 020 335

AUTHOR	Klausner, Samuel Z.; And Others
TITLE	The Work Incentive Program: Making Adults Economically Independent. Volume I.
INSTITUTION	Pennsylvania Univ., Philadelphia.
SPONS AGENCY	Manpower Administration (DOL), Washington, D.C. Office of Research and Development.
PUB DATE	72
NOTE	401p.
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC-$16.45
DESCRIPTORS	Economically Disadvantaged; *Employment Programs; Family (Sociological Unit); Family Influence; Family Structure; Federal Programs; Labor Force; Labor Force Nonparticipants; Labor Market; *Low Income Groups; Motivation; *Welfare Recipients; *Working Parents; *Working Women
IDENTIFIERS	Labor Force Participation; WIN; *Work Incentive Program

ABSTRACT

In an examination of the role of the Work Incentive (WIN) Program, particularly its training activities, in adult resocialization, data were gathered by questionnaires administered, one year apart, to a panel of husbandless mothers receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and a panel of husbandless mothers who had participated in a WIN program and were working in Camden, New Jersey. Some results were: (1) Slogan Terms, such as "welfare community," "economic incentive," and "work versus homemaking," misdirect manpower policy, (2) Money is over-rated as a work incentive, (3) Work versus homemaking may offer a false choice, (2) Manpower policy needs tailoring for women workers, (5) Traditional and modernizing life styles are central determinants of work behavior and family attitudes, (6) Modernizing women are more likely to work and work promotes a modernizing life style, (7) A large family is more of a deterrent to WIN participation than is responsibility for preschool children, (8) WIN trained mothers are more modernized, activistic, and socially mobile than are other low income working mothers, and (9) Social relational more than attitudinal factors underly labor force participation. This report provides the background, methodology, findings, and recommendations for the study. A bibliography and appendixes are available as VT 020 336 in this issue. (SB)

ED 078167

THE WORK INCENTIVE PROGRAM:
MAKING ADULTS ECONOMICALLY INDEPENDENT

Volume I

by

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with chapters contributed by

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VT020335

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Prepared for

Office of Research and Development
Manpower Administration
U.S. Department of Labor
Contract No. 51-40-69-01

1972

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CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS*

Conclusions

Misleading Conceptions of Welfare

1. Finding: Slogan terms misdirect manpower policy.

Comment: Terms such as "welfare community," "economic incentive," "work or welfare," "work versus homemaking" and "manpower" itself fail to correspond to events in the "real" world and so constrict the view of program options. They represent ideas about poverty forged through journalistic diagnoses and political struggles and when taken as a policy guide may produce unintended results.

2. Finding: Welfare recipients are an aggregate and not a "community."

Comment: The word "community" suggests people interacting with one another and, perhaps, even acting in concert, concerned with one another and sharing some common goals and values. Legislated eligibility requirements specifying the attributes of low income, minor children and, often, father absent, do not automatically create a "community." Welfare recipients belong to subcommunities which also include working women and are organized around school, residential propinquity or church membership.

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*Findings are based on analysis of two sets of questionnaire responses, one year apart, of a panel of husbandless mothers receiving AFDC and a panel of low income husbandless working mothers in Camden, New Jersey. The following pages review some conclusions of the study and recommend elements of policy. These conclusions must be viewed in the context of the chapters of this report in which they are developed. The problem setting is described in the first chapter, the methodology sketched at the beginning of the fourth and an extended summary and interpretation of findings in the eleventh.

The few who act in concert around "welfare rights" issues are an incipient welfare community but are not representative of those on the rolls.

3. Finding: Money is overrated as a work incentive.

Comment: Assuming the value of money as a work incentive, the WIN program offers income during training, aims to upgrade earning capacity and does not deduct all earnings from welfare grants. An improved wage is a necessary but not sufficient condition for a decision to work. The pursuit of profits (an impersonal calculation), as a motive for business activity, cannot be generalized to the pursuit of income as a (psychological) motive for working. Economic motivation is undercut by the fact that effort such as education beyond early high school years offers but a modest advance in earnings. Wage rates increase little following upgrading. Earnings are more dependent on the length of time worked than on a change in wage rate. The meaning of money depends, among other things, on what is done to get it and the purposes for which it is spent. Earnings of welfare mothers are supplementary and are treated as a "windfall" to be expended for unusual consumables. For working mothers, earnings are routine and determine the level of basic expenditure for food and rent. For welfare mothers, money may lose some of its value as a work incentive after consumption needs have been met. For working mothers, money is a vehicle for facilitating social relations outside the home and a way to promote social mobility.

4. Finding: Work versus welfare falsely dichotomizes ways of acquiring resources.

Comment: Work and welfare do not exhaust the means of obtaining resources. In fact, inheritances, intra-familial transfers, pensions, appreciation of securities, interest on loans, entrepreneurial profits, rent, alimony, etc., join work and welfare in an array of sources of income--not to mention gift exchanges, charity, church welfare funds and some illicit forms of income. Not everyone must work, but everyone must belong to a "family" in which someone has an income. Women are emancipated from welfare, as from parental dependency, primarily through marriage. Customarily, marriage implies dependency on a working man--in return for being a wife and mother. Work and welfare incomes are also not mutually exclusive. Welfare mothers often have earnings, particularly as they approach termination of welfare dependency. Work and welfare are also not attitudinally exclusive. Disapproval of welfare may discourage acceptance of welfare without inducing interest in working.

5. Finding: Work versus homemaking may offer a false choice.

Comment: The organization of work, which separates the workplace and work time from home and family time, suggests an inherent mutual exclusivity of work and homemaking. The separation does not correspond to innate personality predispositions. Some women prefer work, others prefer homemaking, others prefer to do both and still others would avoid both in exchange for leisure. The belief that a choice is innate obscures perception of shifts between work and home at different stages of the life cycle or, contemporaneously, on the part of the same person and also obscures the possibility of remunerative work options integrated with the home and home-type services that could be offered at the workplace.

6. Finding: Manpower policy needs tailoring for women workers.

Comment: The term "manpower" is, of course, generic and not sex specific. However, manpower policy has been evolved in connection with a male labor force. The concept of an economic incentive and labor force classifications are suited more to the motives and work career of a male than of a female labor force. A significant proportion of women are "dependently employed" (work too few hours or have low wages and are subvented) or "inactively employed" (temporarily on leave, say, for maternity). Were problems of women considered in program design, child care arrangements and job training and counseling might have been assigned to the same federal and local administrations.

Modernizers and Traditionalists

7. Finding: Traditional and modernizing life styles are central determinants of work behavior and family attitudes.

Comment: Husbandless mothers in this study may be divided on the basis of their commitment to either a traditionalist or a modernizing life style. A traditionalist mother feels obligated principally to her home and family and this is reflected in the emphasis on internal family needs in her household budget. She expects to be supported in virtue of her position as a woman and as a mother. When income is not available through family transfers or through a husband, welfare is accepted as an appropriate substitute. The social impact of this "patrimonial" income, granted on the basis of need and position, reinforces her traditionalist pattern. In contrast, a mother committed to a modernizing life style sees herself as economic provider and protector of her children. The modernizing tendency is reinforced through the discipline of job requirements and by the variety of social influences to which work exposes her. Modernizing household budgets emphasize external social relations as reflected through expenditures for clothing and entertainment.

Three types of traditionalist cultural orientations may be distinguished. (1) Adjusted traditionalists, of whom Puerto Rican welfare mothers are prototypical, are generally found in a family and milieu which is supportive of a traditional female role. They may work in traditional occupations such as domestic service. (2) Other traditionalists, because of intellectual incompetence or psychopathology, cannot compete effectively in the commercial and industrial labor markets and tend not to be exposed to wider or modernizing influences. (3) Finally, some are temporary traditionalists, either in the process of cultural transition to modernizing or only temporarily out of the labor force while they care for small dependent children.

8. Finding: The material aspects of life style shape family expenditure budgets.

Comment: Modernizing and traditional life styles dictate priorities in purchases and so shape household expenditure budgets. Traditionally oriented families invest more heavily in items relevant to family and home life while modernizing families spend more for items relating them to the outside world. These consumption patterns persist through successive stages of the family life cycle. Because income does not increase in proportion to family size, larger families live in more crowded quarters, eat more poorly, dress more shabbily and venture less outside the home. The largest families in the study population, those with seven or more children, are all on welfare.

9. Finding: The cultural aspects of life style express themselves through and are developed through religious affiliations.

Comment: Church congregations are perhaps the most frequent true social interactional groups in this population. About half of the day care centers used by welfare and working poor mothers in Camden are located in churches. Classification by religious affiliation and work/welfare status orders the study population from the relatively traditional to modernizing. For illustrative purposes, the proportion with more than a grade school education, one of several indicators of life style, is given for each affiliation and status.

Life Style	Status/Affiliation	Proportion having completed ten or more years of education
Traditional	(1) Welfare/not church affiliated	38%
↓	(2) Welfare/Baptist and Pentecostal sects	51%
	(3) Welfare/Methodist sects	66%
	(4) Working/Methodist (main line)	73%
	(5) Working/Baptist (main line)	77%
Modernizing	(6) Working/not church affiliated	92%

Denominational affiliation may change with change in life style. This may be described for the blacks who constituted about 70 percent of the study population. Catholics are relatively heterogeneous in life style and are, as classified here, an exception to this rule. Welfare mothers with no religious affiliation who, in the above illustration, are the most poorly educated, also tend to be the poorest of all, to be socially isolated, emotionally passive and have the highest proportion of emotionally and intellectually incompetent women. The Pentecostal churches, operating at the border between this amorphous population and the more typical welfare dependents, help mobilize motivation to strive for a better life, encourage social activity and teach a personal morality which contributes to the attitudinal and behavioral stability needed for economic participation. The part of the welfare population working part time is more likely to affiliate with the sectarian Baptist and Methodist churches and those more regularly working may be attracted to "main line" black Protestant churches. Non-church affiliated working mothers who, in the above illustration, are the most highly educated are also relatively most intelligent, have relatively high incomes and participate in the life of the broader community.

While not involved in institutional religion, they tend to consider themselves religious.

Determinants of Welfare and Work Status

10. Finding: Modernizing women are more likely to work and work promotes a modernizing life style.

Comment: A modernizing life style is associated with a more extended formal education and an active personality. Work, especially in a commercial or industrial occupation, is not so much a correlate as an expression of that life style. The social relations occasioned by work further promote a modernizing life style.

11. Finding: Social relational more than attitudinal factors underly labor force participation.

Comment: The likelihood of entering the labor force, or of becoming a WIN participant, is higher for mothers having female relatives who work, who associate with friends who work and, in general, for those who enjoy social relations in the wider community. Social relations, in general, provide occasions for encountering variant ideas and so stimulate broader thinking and, in particular, associating with workers generates positive attitudes toward work. Labor force participation is lower for those who have relatives on welfare, who associate with welfare mothers and, in general, interact little with the community or with members of their extended family. Welfare, in part a result of social isolation, does little to prevent continued isolation.

12. Finding: Members of welfare cohorts polarize with respect to economic independence and dependence while on welfare.

Comment: Most welfare mothers are, at the moment of entry into welfare, totally dependent on welfare. With time, some increase their earnings at an accelerating pace and eventually leave welfare. Others remain dependent, a residual of the original cohort, and are joined by residuals of later cohorts. Welfare residuals include psychopathological women with low intellectual competence and some adjusted traditionalists for whom marriage, their principal escape from welfare, is improbable. After their children have grown, some legitimate continued dependency by becoming ill.

13. Finding: Husbandless mothers with many children are more likely than those who simply have young children to become long term welfare dependents.

Comment: Welfare programs are attuned to the support of husbandless mothers of preschool children and, thus, include modernizers at an early stage in the family life cycle as well as traditionalists. A more serious long term welfare problem is that of the traditionalist with four or more children. With no functioning extended family and poor marriage chances, economic dependency is almost inevitable. Generally, her earning capacity does not justify child care costs.

The WIN Program

14. Finding: The WIN program is a rallying point for modernizers.

Comment: WIN participants aspire to social mobility for themselves and for their children, are active and extroverted personalities and are oriented positively to the world of work. These indices of modernizing are more significant than purely economic considerations in motivating WIN participants. Modernizing mothers self select for the WIN program. Potential trainees influence their selection by communicating a promise of success in training and on the job.

15. Finding: State and local administrations adapt the eligibility rules in the light of local exigencies and so promote program success.

Comment: "Negotiation" with clients for selection involves adaptation of the WIN guidelines, especially of eligibility requirements. Federal guidelines which operationalize the program are the first adaptations of the original statute. State government further adapts them to its administrative procedures and programs and the local agency adapts them in its dealings with clients. The adaptations result in young, single and better educated modernizers being more likely to be accepted into the program than the traditionally oriented. The program, as a consequence, enjoys smoother administration, is less embroiled in local conflicts and probably maximizes program impact by restricting it to motivated candidates.

16. Finding: A large family is more of a deterrant to WIN participation than is responsibility for preschool children.

Comment: Though not required to participate in WIN, mothers of preschool children are as likely as mothers without small children to participate. In practice, few mothers of large families, whatever their children's ages, participate in WIN. They tend to be traditionalists, to consider remunerative employment inappropriate for women and to be reluctant to delegate child care.

17. Finding: WIN trained mothers are more modernized, activistic and socially mobile than are other low income working mothers.

Comment: Low income women workers, projected into the job market through the usual economic mechanisms, tend to occupy traditional service occupations. WIN participants move from welfare to work through a politically based agency--and are more likely to become "politicized," that is, actively oriented to shaping their environment and advancing themselves socially in the process. They tend to enter the industrial sector, to develop more positive attitudes toward child care arrangements and more negative attitudes toward the WIN agency and toward welfare in general than do either other welfare or other low income working mothers. Criticisms may reflect the stress of change and thus are a sign of program success. The agency may be a lightning rod drawing off these tensions. Of course, the frustration of non-change also accompanies a program that deals only with the upgrading of labor and not with the labor market--when that market is tight.

Recommendations*

I. Recommendations For Improving WIN Program Effectiveness by Adapting it to Four Classes of Welfare Mothers

Certain WIN program provisions, such as income maintenance, may be applied uniformly to all husbandless welfare and low income working mothers. Eligibility criteria, training procedures and the social services offered by WIN should be adapted to, at least, the four types of AFDC clients discussed in this report--the incompetent, the adjusted traditionalists, the temporary traditionalists and the modernizers. WIN counselors should be enabled to identify these four types of clients by developing and validating paper and pencil and interview instruments.

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*These recommendations are formulated around the assumption that our social malaise may be cured through improving the distribution of resources and, therefore, focus on economic more than on social and cultural reform. They are limited to problems arising at the interface between agency and client. Therefore, macroeconomic and macrosocial considerations are absent as are recommendations on labor market conditions and social and juridical adjustment of community relations. Any broad attack on our poverty/welfare problem must, obviously, deal with these concerns.

A. Rehabilitation programs should be extended to cover all incompetent welfare mothers.

1. Vocational rehabilitation services, already available for the physically and mentally disabled, should be extended to those remaining on AFDC rolls and yet unemployable because of intellectual incompetence and severe psychopathology.[1] Extra-mural custodial arrangements may be required for a few. Others would benefit from a community health program with provision for treating and training the mentally retarded.

2. An "outreach" program should be established to locate cases requiring rehabilitation. Rehabilitation agencies might take the lead here but welfare and employment agency personnel should also be trained to recognize women in need of these services. Psychological screening instruments, as mentioned above, should be incorporated in the welfare "intake" process.

3. Manpower training programs should prepare some of these individuals for low skill and routine tasks in the agricultural and industrial, the traditional service and the public service sectors for which WIN already prepares more skilled workers.

4. Government subvented employment, particularly during apprenticeships, is recommended to encourage employers to accept these workers.

5. A home management education program should be offered to improve the quality of the care provided to their children, the techniques and standards of their house care and the efficiency with which

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[1] These aims may be accomplished on a legislative level by amending or interpreting language such as that which is used in Section 2111(b) of HR 1 to allow provision of rehabilitation services to mental and intellectual incompetents as well as to the physically ill. The language of the Talmadge Amendments to the Social Security Act 402(a) paragraph 19(c) seems to allow this activity.

they manage their household budgets.

B. Family service programs are needed for adjusted traditionalists.[2]

1. Adjusted traditionalists should be helped to reestablish economic independence, primarily, by reestablishing complete traditional families.

2. Social agencies should assist in reducing the social isolation of some traditionalist mothers, encouraging them to interact more with neighbors and participate in community institutions such as the schools which their children attend. Advice, funding and, if necessary, legal aid should be offered to help them maintain residential stability.

3. Wage supplements adjusted to the number of dependent children might be offered the father/husband to enable him to meet his family responsibilities. The husbandless working mother should also enjoy these dependency supplements. Such supplements require financing through a government wage fund. Such a fund might be established under the Social Security Administration.

4. Some adjusted traditionalists might offer their homes as small neighborhood child care centers for the children of working women. Foster care for children lacking a decent home environment might be offered in these settings as well.[3]

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[2] The counseling and socially supportive services recommended in HR 1 Section 2112(7) would meet some of the requirements of this recommendation. The wage supplement proposal would require new legislation.

[3] Legislative enablement might require allowing a foster child or a child placed on contract to be included in the definition of a family in Section 2155 of HR 1. This would seem to be implied in Section 427 of Part B Title IV of the Social Security Act and in Section 408(a) in the Talmadge Amendments to that Act.

5. Voluntary deferrment from WIN and similar work training programs should be granted nearly automatically in the case of husbandless mothers with four or more children. A large family is a prima facie indicator of a traditionalist life style. From a public finance point of view, the cost of care for so many children usually exceeds the earnings of their mothers.[4]

6. Opportunities to modernize through work training and job placement, as currently provided in WIN, should remain available.

7. Children above fourteen in traditionalist families should be scheduled for work training and job placement during summers and/or after they terminate regular schooling.

C. Work training efforts of WIN should concentrate on traditionalists in transition to modernization.

1. Opportunities for WIN training and placement services as well as child care services should be given on a priority basis for those in transition to modernizing. Within the constraints cited below, compulsory work requirements should be enforced for this class of welfare dependents. Job service energies are more efficiently expended on these families than on adjusted traditionalists.

2. Group counseling should be continuously available to these women to help them cope with the psychological strain which accompanies the cultural change of modernization.

3. Deferrments from work training should be granted readily to those temporarily out of the labor force because of their stage in the life cycle. This would release training resources for others. At the

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[4] This may be accomplished by amendments to Section 2111(b) of HR 1.

same time, work training should remain available on a voluntary basis to upgrade skills and ease their return to work at the appropriate time.

D. Jobs should be available to modernizers and with government subvention when required.

1. Work opportunities must continue to be or be made available for modernizers. This may involve subvented employment, government subvented dependency allowances and work in the public sector. Being highly motivated to work, their welfare dependence is a problem of the job market.

2. Employment opportunities which retard the modernizing process because of their impact on worker culture and personal competencies should be discouraged both for modernizers and for those in transition. Domestic service, for instance, should be avoided in favor of work in the industrial and commercial sectors. Routine tasks and those of the lone employee at the workbench should be avoided in favor of teamwork.

3. Successful modernizers may be promoted as elite role models for those in earlier phases of modernizing. Some working mothers are prototypical modernizers and might be displayed through appropriate publicity and honorific citations for their accomplishments.

II. Recommendations for Preventing Accession to Welfare Dependency

A. Social service and benefit systems should contribute to the stabilization of family relations--a basic condition for preventing welfare dependency.

1. Family life educational programs for boys and girls should be integrated with vocational and other early education so as to prepare an early foundation for family stability.

2. Premarital and marital counseling, including family planning information, should have priority in a manpower/welfare program designed for women.[5]

3. Objective social conditions must be fostered which maximize the chances of stable relations between men and women who have become parents. In this particular population, at this particular time, the maintenance of a responsible leadership role for the father is a basic requirement. To the end of constraining marital dissolution and buttressing paternal authority, experiments should be established to test the feasibility of providing dependency wage supplements to him, as suggested above, and of channeling welfare payments for children through fathers, instead of directly to mothers. Joint administration by husband and wife of funds is another possibility for those families in which more democratic relations between the spouses are possible.

B. Vocational education programs should be initiated early in the educational career.

1. Work training of adults would be more effective, if needed at all, if vocational education for girls as well as for boys were to begin early in the elementary grades and continue, with apprenticeships in the skilled trades, in secondary schools.

2. Vocational guidance, as offered in WIN, should be connected with guidance programs for the children of AFDC mothers. With such emphasis on childhood education and guidance, it will become possible to direct the more gifted into paraprofessional and even professional training

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[5] This is provided for in the Talmadge Amendments to Section 402(a) of Title IV of the Social Security Act.

in health, education, community services and the technological fields, among others.

C. Retain the compulsory work requirement with restrictions on types of job assignment and on types of candidates.

1. The compulsory work requirement, already part of WIN legislation, should be retained for the salutary effect of appropriate labor on the social and intellectual development of the individual and the encouragement it gives those who are modernizing. A compulsory work requirement cannot be justified economically. The low productivity and undependability of compulsory labor, which accrue as a cost to the employer, together with the cost of publically sponsored child care, especially when there are several children, exceed the cost of welfare.

2. The work requirement should be placed in the context of a general program for increasing female participation in the labor force. The benefits of labor are not limited to welfare mothers and should be extended to middle class and other low income women. Such a program, already legislated in part, should be developed in cooperation with the vocational education programs mentioned above, with continued enforcement of equal employment rights legislation, with the development of child care services with educational content and with appropriate public education programs about women in the labor force.

3. This solution is not recommended for thoroughly traditionalist women. The cultural break would be too expensive to the individual suffering it and to the society. Compulsory enforcement of a work requirement against strong cultural resistance can create martyrs and abet

social tension--especially if it discriminates by economic level.[6]

4. The work must contribute to the mother's self development. The work setting must meet the conditions, called for above, which promote modernizing. Domestic service, for instance, does not ordinarily meet this requirement.

5. The work must be productive materially for the employer. Where it cannot be, subvented employment should be arranged. Otherwise, a program of "encouraged" employment would simply move the cost of maintaining this population from the public assistance budget to that of private industry.

B. Support cottage industry.

1. Cottage industry should be encouraged and subvented as a way of enabling the traditionalist and temporarily traditionalist mother to be economically self-maintaining while monitoring her children. While not competitive with factory production, the economic efficiency of cottage industry should be assessed in the light of its contribution to self in place of welfare support and to personal development of the worker as well as for the value of the product.

2. Cottage industries should not be limited to traditional handicrafts but should include a range of occupations consistent with the technical arrangements of a home. Possibilities include a telephone answering service, a small appliance repair shop and beauty shop, among others.

3. Cottage industry in which several neighbors cooperate should be encouraged.

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[6] The above two recommendations require amendment of the language of the Talmadge Amendments to Social Security Act Title IV, Sec. 402(a), 18(A).

III. Recommendations to Improve Household Management

A. Extend the "voucher" program to additional people and purposes.

1. Vouchers, such as stamps, should be available to subvent the household economy of low income working as well as that of welfare families. Eligibility determination might rest on level of per capita family income.

2. Vouchers should be available not only for food but also for clothing, the improvement of living conditions and support of specialized educational services. This might reduce the tendency of some working families to trade food for clothing and of some welfare families to trade housing for food.

3. Vouchers should be designed to discourage the purchase of uneconomical packaged and processed goods. Low consumption and poor consumption result not only from low income but from inefficient expenditure practices.

4. Consumer education and consumer protection efforts should be built into agency programs to supplement direct subvention to consumption. These efforts, too, should not be limited to the welfare and working poor population. The general intent of these "voucher" recommendations is not to reduce basic stipends but to offer in-kind assistance as a means of guiding consumer practices in ways promotive of child welfare. Thus, the voucher program itself is a consumer education program.

B. Federally sponsored child care centers should not be preferred over locally sponsored ones.

1. Child care should be promoted under varied managerial arrangements. While federally established centers should be supported,

centers managed by private individuals, churches and other community organizations should not have a lower priority either for subvention or for publically assigned utilization. The same quality standards should be met by all.[7]

2. Local educational authorities should be encouraged to include supervision of child care facilities within their regular school supervision program. The federal government might support this extension of local educational responsibility.

3. Child care arrangements at or near places of work should be encouraged and subvented. In the case of large industry, child care facilities might be part of an industrial park.

4. Infant care (servicing ages 1-3) might be offered by some traditionalist mothers in their own homes under the supervision of a visiting nurse. These women and their homes should be certified by local agencies as adequate.

B. These programs should not be limited to low income families.

Programs of domestic management, consumer education and protection, family planning and family life and vocational education as well as child care and work training should not be restricted to husbandless welfare mothers, but should be available to low income working mothers and middle income mothers in complete families as well--albeit not subvented to the same degree. That these social supports return welfare mothers to economic independence, thus relieving community funds, is not the only argument in their favor. Their contribution to raising the quality of lives is an even stronger argument and this argument is not class related.

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[7] An amendment to Section 2112(2) of HR 1 could specify that the federal facilities need not necessarily be utilized on a priority basis.

IV. A General Administrative Recommendation to Improve Internal Program Coordination

A wider interagency authority is needed for program planning. The authority and expertise for planning and implementing action on these recommendations is scattered through the federal establishment. Agencies concerned with activities specified in the above recommendations include the following.

Focus of Interest	Government Agency
special problems of women	Women's Bureau, DOL
child and infant care facilities	Office of Child Development, HEW National Institute for Child Health and Human Development, NIH
rehabilitative services	Social and Rehabilitation Service, HEW
vocational education	Bureau of Adult, Vocational and Technical Education, Office of Education, HEW
domestic management and home economics	Extension Service, Department of Agriculture
consumer education and protection	Office of Consumer Affairs, Executive Office of the President

A program planning group, concerned with the development of activities specified in these recommendations, should include representatives of these agencies. Responsibility for implementing the suggested programs should not, however, be diffused among so many agencies.

Man does not live only by bread
Man lives by all that God creates
Deuteronomy

Rabbi Elazar ben Azariah says ...
Without bread there is no Torah
Without Torah, there is no bread
Ethics of the Fathers

In the capitalistic system, the most immediate bases of willingness to work are opportunities for high piece-rate earnings and the danger of dismissal
Max Weber

Investigations carried out since this was written have tended to show that the situation is not as simple as Weber seemed to think.
Talcott Parsons

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A future social scientist archivist may take this report as an item of American culture, circa 1970. It is a fragment of knowledge about a social condition. As with all ideas, it bears the imprint of the social origins of its authors and of their disciplinary traditions. It is the cultural product of the social system in which the research plan was framed and executed. Actors in the system include the federal government which selected the proposal for support and sponsored the ensuing research activities, the agencies of the state and local government who provided the enabling context for the data gathering, the University administration which cared for the physical and fiscal needs of the researchers, the research staff itself which is responsible for the observations of a social condition and for the interpretations which transformed that data into social knowledge and to the women who allowed themselves to be observed while contributing their interpretations of their experience.

The body of knowledge in this report is not simply a reproduction of the institutional cultures converged around it. The institutional cultures were diffracted through the personalities of individuals who were the active links between the institutions. Within the federal government, we are indebted to the vision of Jack Newman, Manpower Analyst, Office of Research and Development, Manpower Administration, who, more than anyone else, is responsible for mobilizing the forces which made this study possible. He served as the focus for the ideas and interests of a multitude of concerned officers in the Department of Labor and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare from the initial design to the final report. He interpreted the academic community's conceptualization of the social forces underlying the Work Incentive Program to those within the Department of Labor charged with policy responsibility. Jack Newman's work itself was supported by Jesse Davis, also a Manpower Analyst, Office of Research and Development, Manpower Administration, who interpreted the relevance of this fragment of social knowledge to social policy and helped to order it in a mosaic along with other fragments of knowledge about the Work Incentive Program. Howard Rosen, Director of the Office of Research and Development, was responsible for placing the constructed picture of this program in the larger gallery of manpower research.

Our ability to work successfully within the State of New Jersey rested on the confidence expressed by Raymond F. Male, then Commissioner of the Department of Labor and Industry of the State of New Jersey, John Taylor, State Coordinator of Work Experience and Training Programs in the Division of Public Welfare, Charles Reilly, then Director of the Office of Manpower in the Department of Labor and Industry, Arthur O'Neal, Director of the Division of Planning and Research and Arthur J. Lynch, Superintendent of Field Operations, Division of Employment Security. Thomas J. Tull, then Administrative Supervisor for Social Services, and Clement Carney, then Supervisor of the WIN Project for the Camden County Welfare Board opened the files of the Work Incentive Program to members of our staff and were a constant source of ideas on the practical day-to-day operations of the program. Appreciation is also expressed to Fred L. Streng, Director of the Camden County Welfare Board, as well as to Joan Burras and Carlton B. Harker, then of the Camden County WIN staff. For assistance in selecting working mothers for interview, we are grateful to James Corbett and David Ritter of the Southern New Jersey Opportunities Industrialization Centers in Camden, to Raymond J. Osborn, Executive Director, Housing Authority of the City of Camden (as well as to the managers of the several housing projects in Camden) and to Francis Hufner, of the Camden office of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. Raymond Salvadore and Gail Ross of Ultronic Corporation not only introduced members of our staff to potential working mother interviewees but allocated company time for interviewing. State and local officials influenced the research product through their response to researchers as well as through the organization they established for implementing the Work Incentive Program. They share with the study population responsibility for shaping the data of the study. Nearly 600 working and welfare mothers, our subjects of research, actively formulated knowledge about their situation. Their self-observations and interpretations of their responsibilities to their families, toward welfare and toward work are the material out of which our social knowledge is constructed. Their constructions of the social reality, particularly as it conditions the relationship between client and welfare worker, is the event which the researcher interprets. That interpretation itself is conditioned by the relationship between interviewer and interviewee. Some working and welfare mothers gave as much as four, five or six hours to the study.

The final synthesizing of this knowledge occurs through the acts and minds of the research staff. The list preceding these acknowledgements testifies to the combination of talents required to produce even this small fragment of social knowledge. A few may be singled out for mention. Among the associate directors of the study, Martin Rein was the catalyst that set the study in motion. Jessie Bernard, as evidenced by her chapter in this report, brought to bear personal verve, enthusiasm and her wealth of sociological insight into the role of women in American society. David P. Varady conceptualized significant parts of the research instrument and, at times during the study, held overall managerial responsibility, served as liaison officer between the research staff and the authorities in Camden, directed the field staff and provided the memoranda upon which the discussions of the Camden government in Chapter III and of the instrument in Appendix A were based. Randall C. Kritkausky succeeded to some of his managerial duties during the period of data analysis and report writing. The field staff was careful in the implementation of its task and showed the kind of mature judgment, decorum, courtesy and kindness which underly our confidence in the accuracy of the data they returned. Madeleine S. Klausner, the research project administrator, sculpted an efficient and unclut-

tered structure which supported the academic research. Her work was made easier by the cooperation of the late Howard Vail of the University of Pennsylvania's Office of Research, Grants and Contracts and by Elizabeth T. Moran, Administrative Assistant in the Department of Sociology. During the concluding days of the study, Gail W. Donner assumed an increasingly greater role in the management of the research and its transformation into a manuscript.

These pages are not an end product. They are an interim report, a set of ideas in the making about an important social activity. The quality of these ideas cannot be measured by the amount of time invested, but it is sobering to realize that these pages represent some 35,000 hours of human effort on the part of the research and administrative staff and another 5,000 hours of effort contributed by interviewees and officials of the federal, state and local governments. It is as if one person had worked twenty years. How puny is a principal investigator's statement of gratitude against that effort.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
March, 1972

Samuel Z. Klausner

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CHAPTER I

ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE AND DEPENDENCE

AN INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

The Range of Options in Poverty Programs

The Work Incentive Program is part of a federal response to poverty--particularly to the impoverishment of children in families without an adequately employed man. The federal government had, in earlier years, accepted an obligation to assure these families some minimum of food, shelter and other necessities. The program of Aid to Dependent Children (ADC), later Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), has been one mechanism for discharging this obligation.

During the 1960's, even while unemployment decreased, the number of AFDC maintained families increased and soon constituted a serious issue in national and local budgets. A society committed to support dependent children and their mothers began to re-examine the limits of support and the criteria of eligibility for such transfer payments. This is a report on a study designed to explore the role of the Work Incentive Program in reducing welfare dependency by offering work training, work placement and child care services to mothers in AFDC families.

The Work Incentive Program rests upon a diagnosis of poverty in terms of a disrupted relation to the economy and a conception that employment of a family member is the most appropriate way to restore the access of the family to economic resources. The scope and limits of this approach may be appreciated by viewing it in the context of some other possible diagnoses of poverty and associated approaches to its amelioration.

In a Western industrial society, resources ordinarily become available to a family through a male breadwinner. When this link to the economy breaks down and the family is denied proper sustenance, the most obvious corrective measure might be to reinstate a male breadwinner. Men could be compelled to support children they have fathered, in or out of wedlock, and independently of whether they choose to reside with them (1). Alternatively,

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[1] Consistent with American values of family responsibility, this solution seems simple, obvious and right. Yet, for the state to become the guardian of family responsibility would be inconsistent with the American belief that the state should ordinarily await the initiative of the victimized family member before enforcing family obligations. If the victim is a minor, as in the case of AFDC clients, the state might pursue the initiative of his custodian. In the case of parental absence or incompetence,

the truncated family unit might be attached to another household of the same extended family which does have a breadwinner. Some private agencies examine the possibility of intra-familial transfer payments before they extend assistance (2). Neither of these approaches requires a change in the mother's traditional role. Each would allow her to continue caring for her children and tending to her household. The Work Incentive Program proceeds from the concept that such a role change would, in some cases, be desirable. Some welfare mothers should become breadwinners.

Public policy accepts an economic diagnosis of poverty and proposes to reinstate or strengthen the family's access to resources by upgrading the mother's economic performance. The policy encounters some obstacles. Family and work obligations may demand the same hours of the day while requiring her presence in distinct locations. Further, the work of women often does not command sufficient income to sustain a family. Work and family responsibilities are not intrinsically in conflict. The competition among these two activities is a function of the way they are organized in our culture. The low income of women is due to the general status of women in the culture as well as to their level of marketable skill. Most fundamentally, however, the life styles, the basic cultural orientations of many welfare mothers, are not attuned to the requirements of modern industrial occupations. Women, more than men, adhere to a life style reflecting a pre-industrial tradition.

The Work Incentive Program attempts to meet these obstacles by providing for institutional child care during the working day, but deals only tangentially, through its counseling services, with her feelings about her responsibilities to her children which are rooted in a cultural orientation. The program is concerned, through its training and advisory mechanisms, that she be competent and motivated to accept an occupational position, but the availability of an occupational position, the management of the labor

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the custodian would be the state. The community could not claim this as a sphere of activity for the federal government without, at the same time, opening the possibility of a larger role for the state in the regulation of family relations in general. Further, the administrative and enforcement costs of holding unwilling fathers to economic responsibility might not be justified since the men in question command but limited resources. Finally, enforcement of such economic responsibility might only be palliative, symptom therapy.

[2] Public authorities encouraging this approach might be placed in the dubious position of trying to reconstitute geographically fragmented families and to enforce traditional extended family obligations for which there is no legal basis and which tend to be ignored among the more affluent. Pressure to enforce extended family economic responsibility might generate more serious familial tensions. Further, maintaining a mobile labor force or ethnically integrating the society are among the social goals which seem to require the nucleation of families. The forced reactivation of the extended family could be regressive with respect to such goals.

market, is beyond the scope of the Work Incentive Program--as is, of course, a program of fundamental social change that would affect the social organization of work and the status of women in general.

The diagnosis of poverty in terms of the relation to work and the public policy of encouraging the mother to assume a work role are not based on some "natural law" of resource allocation. The allocation of resources need not be contingent primarily upon work or the management of capital, that is, upon occupational activities. Resources might be allocated by forceful domination, as in conquered societies or extortion, or consequent to family ties, as in aristocratic societies. The response to poverty need not accept the nuclear family as a natural economic and residential unit. This conception excludes, for instance, a solution to poverty through the institution of communes (3). Certain religious societies, such as communities of mendicant monks, offer rights to resources relatively independent of labor. Proposals for a negative income tax implicitly accept the concept that a share in resources might not be based exclusively on labor.

The basic conception, implicit in all of these options, derives from the economic orientation of our society. Poverty is identified with a maldistribution of resources. A society dominated by religious orientations, for instance, might have interpreted the same social malaise in cultural terms--seeing the economic deprivation as but one side effect of a cultural problem (4). In fact, this report will argue that the problem cannot, ultimately, be managed solely in economic terms.

Modern industrial society draws its dominant standards and perspectives from economic and occupational relations and therefore tends to interpret the stresses and strains to which it is subject with reference to these values. We strive to build our society through work and by increasing the economic product. It is not surprising, therefore, that we conceive of employment as a way not only to restore a more equitable distri-

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[3] Communes may allocate resources in terms of occupational participation, but may, at the same time, distribute family and labor responsibilities among a larger group, and, unlike a family system, they may not require biological or even affinial relatedness to define the locus of responsibility. American values tolerate voluntary communes based on private initiative such as those of religious sects. A poverty program might involve government organized communes. These conjure an image of concentration camps and contrast with the individualistic ethic institutionalized in the American occupational system--economic corporations notwithstanding.

[4] To draw a comparison, late medieval European society, a religious society, interpreted its malaise in terms of threats to health and to the implementation of justice. Heresies and infidelities were seen as the root cause of the problem. Social imperfection was incarnate in those serving foreign gods. Medieval Europeans would have perceived the poor families in Camden as the locus of malaise but singled out, not their lack of command over material resources but, their moral status--their loyalty to the society. Medieval society might have regarded these detached family fragments with some awe, watched their beggary, suspected their women of deviltry and locked doors against their thieving children. Contemporary social policy argues that if these homes are seedbeds of maternal vice and juvenile delinquency, such troubles are the derivative wages of economic sin.

bution of goods but as a way to respond to a complex malaise which is also characterized by school drop-outs, alienation and even refusal to support the community, juvenile delinquency, ill health and poor housing--to name but a few indicators of our problem.

The responsibility for the amelioration of poverty need not have been assigned to the state. In fact, some of the program constraints mentioned above issue from our conception of the proper relation of the political state to personal status. A century ago, poor families were more likely to have been sustained by private voluntary agencies, religious institutions or the local community--all of which may have overlapped. Private voluntary agencies accepted the traditional conception of family life, offering their services without proposing a basic change in family roles. Yet, once we are committed to the notion that the problem is primarily economic and if we agree that economic dislocation is more and more a consequence of national, if not international, economic behavior, then it becomes natural for organs of the state to extend their participation in economic management. The state manages the economy through its taxing power, its power to regulate securities as well as through its labor policies. Regulation of large scale industrial and commercial activities for the general welfare are among the assigned duties of the polity of a large industrial society.

Health, education and social welfare are not solely economic but are cultural and broadly social relational matters. Responsibility for management of these activities too has moved from the churches, voluntary organizations and local governments to the federal government. The government has tended to approach health, education and welfare in terms of their economic significance, in general, and through their occupational significance, in particular. The industrially based state interprets the problem of the impoverished family industrially--as a matter of work. Its tendency, therefore, is to meet the impoverished conditions of some matrifocal families by reorienting them in an industrial direction.

The Limited Task of This Study

The next two sections of this chapter digress to two problems of the context in which this research is conducted. (1) This section comments on the fact that this research focuses on narrow aspects of the problem of poverty and rationalizes this limited focus in terms of the political context in which the research is conducted. (2) The succeeding section is a cautionary note to the policy-maker who will derive action guidelines from the scientific knowledge developed in the following pages. These sections might be considered appendices to the chapter.

The researcher is not engaged by the state to define or diagnose the problem. Such definitional research would be advisory to the legislature and is the putative role of the National Academy of Sciences or the Legislative Reference Service. The research reported here is designed to advise an executive agency, the Department of Labor, as well as the State and County governments implicated in the Work Incentive Program. While it may indirectly affect legislative proposals, it is principally a guide for the adaptation of existing legislation to operational exigencies. The sponsor seeks technical means for achieving an already legislated goal. The conscientious researcher, however, would be remiss were he to ignore the limit set upon options by the frame of reference in which the problem is conceived--here a framework of work and welfare. On the other hand, an analysis which ignored the realities of the political consensus which has defined that framework would fall short of fulfilling the contract.

This particular study does not pursue the entire range of options. A program option has been selected by the government. The Work Incentive Program proposes to reintegrate the family into the normal economic system by moving the mother into an occupation. For purposes of the program, the labor market is considered fixed. The social structural and cultural conditions which, without individual malice, press families into economically disadvantageous positions on the basis of sex of breadwinner, race, ethnic or regional origin are also considered by the program as fixed conditions. The variable component is conceived to be the competence and the motivation of the mother to compete for and perform in positions in an already existing labor market.

It is not a primary research task to evaluate the program outcomes in the light of the stated program goals--the reduction of welfare rolls and numbers of job placements. Program goals and associated institutional means for attaining them are established, in part, in response to political requirements. Rather, this research aims at a general understanding of the interrelation of work, welfare, childrearing and homemaking in the lives of low income mothers who are heads of household. These general understandings will be applicable to the framing of policy for programs engaging this and similar populations. Since the Work Incentive Program serves mothers, it is concerned more than some other programs with problems specific to women. The research will reflect this bias.

On Policy Interpretation of Research Knowledge

The terms work, welfare, childrearing and homemaking classify everyday activities in a common sense fashion. The social scientist reclassifies these activities in novel ways so as to derive more fundamental knowledge about them. Consequently, it is important for the reader to grasp the relation of the concepts used in this report, and the indicator-measures attached to them, to the everyday language of policy.

Previous analyses of poverty have focussed on concepts such as labor market conditions, the culture of poverty, achievement motivation, institutional reform and income distribution. Each factor is relevant for the understanding of a specific part of the poverty problem. A labor market explanation deals with work opportunities. Analyses of the culture of poverty clarify why a mother may or may not avail herself of opportunities. The extent of her achievement motivation may explain both her interest in obtaining a job and her performance in the work. Studies of institutional reform deal with program administration or with the adequacy of the institutional mechanisms for socialization of a mother to the world of work.

Not inappropriately, these factors are studied in isolation. Analyses of abstracted factors is standard research procedure. The research does not thereby argue for a single factor theory of poverty. To reify these factors into real elements and to propose action on the assumption of their literal existence is, however, a serious error. Three errors commonly occur in the application of such abstracted ideas to operational problems. It is an error to assume that because some single factor accounts for a significant part of the variance that the concrete cognate of that factor is a resonable object of policy. For instance, an economic analysis describes poverty in terms of a maldistribution of income. It does not follow that poverty may be removed by redistributing income. Poverty involves a complex of factors. To identify it with an income level would be to mistake an element in the pattern for the whole (5).

Second, the factor employed in research may be a convenient proxy or indicator for a more fundamental concept but should not be confused with that concept. A study may, for example, report that labor force participation is correlated with education. A researcher has classified a population according to the level of school completed and then sub-classified each category with respect to labor force participation. A comparison of the frequencies of labor force participation in several educational categories suggests an association and the policy maker may conclude that support of education is the way to attack poverty (6). The student of developing economies would not use number of years in a traditional Moslem madrasa to predict performance as a tool and die maker. The policy maker must have an image of a particular type of socialization in mind and be concerned with the curricular experience. Even the socializing effect of a curriculum must be viewed in a wider context--of the home setting, for instance.

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[5] Assumedly, hunger and bad housing could be remedied by providing funds to obtain food and good housing. This may be symptom treatment. When the input of funds ceases, hunger and bad housing, not to speak of other elements constituting poverty, could return to the consternation of the policy-maker. Continued access to resources through work depends, at least, on labor market conditions, attitudes to work, personal stability and competence to perform the task. Interest in work also depends on the individual's commitment to other means of acquiring resources--gambling, stealing, investments or joining an institution which guarantees support, such as the army or a monastery. The situation becomes more complex when resource allocation is examined in the context of life style orientations--cultural predispositions which affect the husbanding of resources whatever their source.

[6] A cross-classification is insufficient for demonstrating a causal relation. Labor force participation refers to an action. Years in school do not cause this action. Rather, education is a proxy for some factor related substantively to employment. Perhaps, in advancing through a certain type of educational system, one learns those behaviors or adopts those attitudes which are consistent with holding a job. The relevant association is that between those values or attitudes and job performance. Unless such attitudes can be identified as implicit in both school and in work, the information about the years in school is of little help either to scientific understanding or to policy management of labor force participation rates. A convenient classificatory indicator is not necessarily a direct operationalization of what is intended by an underlying concept.

A research indicator may reflect a variety of real social processes on several levels. It is not a guide to action unless these processes are specified. The supply of labor is found to vary positively with wage rates. This statement refers to the behavior of a collective, a market system, and depends on other social factors such as the existence of a labor force free to contract its own services and the non-existence of a tax system which confiscates the wage increases. A sleight of mind may transform the level of wages into an individual attribute as an economic incentive--an element in motivation. The personal incentive power of money is tied to such personal factors as the attitude toward the moral propriety of work for women or the strength of an achievement motive. The distribution of incentives to work in a society may respond differently to wage rates than does the labor supply in that society.

The policy maker must distinguish between those activities which he can influence and which it is worthwhile to influence and those activities over which he has no real control. A research analysis does not always distinguish a condition of action, which is not given to real manipulation, from a means of action. The research "condition" appears as a third or control variable. The logic for placing it in that position in the analysis is unrelated to its policy role. From the point of view of policy, the distinction rests on the items to which policy intervention has access and those to which it does not. Non-access to a factor may derive from the human condition or it may be culturally legislated. The rule that the federal government may not directly regulate the marriage contract is of the latter type. Sometimes what is defined by the researcher as a situational variable, as if it belonged to the human condition, is in reality subject to choice. The number of dependent children, for instance, is a situational factor subject to cultural modification. Number of children may have a different influence on the likelihood of working among mothers with various cultural predispositions. The appropriateness of a mother being away from her children depends on an attitudinal or cultural orientation (7).

Research, particularly of the survey type, may lead the policy-maker to mistake a population aggregate for a group (8). The program itself pre-

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[7] To account for behavior with reference to an "objective" situation without invoking cultural norms by which the subject interprets the situation is to leave the behavior unexplained. On the other hand, to state the cultural norms, say, regarding obligations to children, without stating how they are expressed in various situations would be to leave the description of the cultural element indeterminate.

[8] A research population is selected in terms of some attributes. Here the population consists of recipients of AFDC, heads of matrifocal households in Camden County, New Jersey, and a comparison group of employed heads of matrifocal households. The research method is founded on a belief that a certain kind of understanding of welfare and work may be obtained by study-

disposes to this misinterpretation. The clients of the Work Incentive Program are designated by the legislation in terms of attributes--criteria of eligibility. It is tempting to consider them more than an assemblage of people living under some similar conditions. The notion of a welfare community presumes common attributes, some social relations among members, a sense of group identity, or commitment to a group goal. Welfare recipients, in fact, belong to numerous cultural groups. These groups generally do not consist entirely of husbandless mothers. They include, along with AFDC clients, complete families and some single individuals. The groups are not circumscribed by the condition of welfare but include working mothers in company with welfare mothers. Welfare mothers respond to their economic situation, to welfare and to work incentives in ways as numerous as their cultural predispositions. A program which prescribes a policy purely in terms of an attribute--such as level of income--forgets that the meaning of this attribute depends on the context of the group or the cultural orientation in which it appears.

Concepts which bear the same name in several research projects may be based on various types of measures and may be incomparable. On the other hand, the same indicators may support concepts bearing different names. The comparison of the use of the concept of cultural factors in poverty in this and other studies illustrates the case of different measures cited by the same concept name. The concept of culture appears in this report with reference to current life styles. On this basis, a relation is demonstrated between cultural orientation and labor force participation. Another author, basing himself on research in endemically poor regions, uses the term to refer to the intergenerational transmission of traits. Correlating the poverty status of parents and children among AFDC recipients, he discovers a weak relation and, as a consequence, dismisses the importance of a cultural factor in poverty.

The Organization of This Report

The present research was designed initially to examine the role of the Work Incentive Program, particularly its training activities, in adult resocialization. Women on welfare, committed to their roles as mothers, were to participate in the work orientation and work training classes sponsored by WIN. Some proportion of them would, in the process, join the labor force--hopefully the employed labor force. The study would document factors relating to their acquisition of a work ethic as well as to changes

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ing the correlations among abstracted attributes of members of a population with no a priori assumptions regarding relations among members of the population. The general laws produced by this type of research may help a policy-maker understand the situation by offering him some abstract rules to guide his decisions. The defined population does not constitute a group or community. The chances that the members of the study population interact socially is further decreased when a random sample is selected from the population.

in their attitudes toward homemaking. The WIN organization was conceived as a transitional social system standing between the worlds of work and welfare. A random sample of WIN eligibles would be selected from AFDC rolls. From these, a random subsample would be assigned to the program as an experimental group. The remainder of the original sample would be deferred temporarily and constitute a control sample. Members of each sample would be interviewed prior to WIN assignment and then one year later. Presumably, the experimental group would then have moved through training and into work. The aim was "research" rather than "evaluation." The study was not designed to judge the "success" of the WIN program in Camden or in the nation, but to discover some of its social and personal consequences and to specify social, psychological and cultural mechanisms implicated in these consequences.

During the study period, the random assignment procedure was judged inconsistent with program operating requirements. Individuals entitled to WIN assignment would appear to be denied training for purposes of research. The design was modified. The initial sample was selected but the formation of the experimental group would await the normal assignment process. Turnover in WIN training "slots" was slow. As required by the guidelines, men were assigned first. They filled the slots and remained in them. A relatively small number of WIN trainees were assigned from the AFDC lists from which we had sampled mothers with dependent children and no male breadwinner. This limited our ability to study the mechanisms of socialization in the WIN program. However, the fact that assignments were made by the agency permitted an examination of the role of recruitment to the program. As it turned out, the factors of self selection and the negotiation between agency and client for selection were at least as significant in understanding the system as was the process of socialization within the program.

With so few WIN trainees, examples of working women would have to be obtained from another source. Further, since the AFDC lists were not representative of low income female headed households, generalization of our findings to a broader population might be inhibited without having another control group. Therefore, another control of regularly employed women with dependent children and without husbands. The study was then better prepared to explore factors involved in the choice between work and welfare in the lives of matrifocal families. The comparison of impoverished women who were and were not in the labor force became central to the study. The final sample included 447 welfare mothers and 102 working mothers.

A surprise appeared. The newly selected control sample of working mothers had characteristics unlike those of the WIN placed working population. Apparently, women who found jobs through market mechanisms differed from those recruited to work through WIN. Among welfare recipients, some were totally dependent on welfare while others were employed part time. This latter group, the part time employed welfare mothers, indeed had characteristics intermediate between fully dependent welfare and working mothers. We now had, in effect, a before/after panel study of four groups: (1) welfare mothers who were completely dependent on welfare income; (2) working welfare mothers who were primarily sustained by welfare but who worked to supplement their income; (3) welfare mothers (who may or may not have been part time workers) who entered the WIN training program and (4) low income working mothers who were almost completely self supporting. The modified central theme is reflected in the title of Chapter VI, "Why Do Some Poor Husbandless Mothers Work." The sociological analysis turns around the differences in life styles, in patterns of living, among these four types of husbandless mothers. Of course, if the effect of husbandlessness were to be studied, we should have compared each of these types with mothers in complete families who received welfare support and who worked. This was, however, beyond the scope of the present study.

Two chapters, following this introduction, describe the setting of this study. Chapter II, by Sar A. Levitan and Martin Rein, reviews the history of federal work and welfare programs which were precursors of the Work Incentive Program. The Aid to Dependent Children program is traced from its initiation in the 1930's as a limited relief effort to the recent phenomenal growth of its rolls. Welfare legislation was gradually amended to broaden the definitions of eligibility, extending the scope of the government's responsibility. Early assistance was limited to children of unemployable parents. Gradually, it became available to the children of a parent unemployed or underemployed for any reason--except for outright refusal of suitable employment. The relaxation of eligiblity criteria does not explain fully the increase in the AFDC caseload. Why has the government offered assistance to broader categories of recipients? Levitan and Rein review three explanations current among policy-makers. One explanation attributes the increase to the abandonment of families, the weakening of family ties. Paradoxically, the availability of welfare, it is argued, might cause further family abandonment either by putting men's minds at ease that their families will be sustained or, where there has been a "man in the house" rule, encouraging abandonment to protect welfare entitlement. A second explanation relates the increase in welfare cases to the increasing maldistribution of income. Workers have been displaced following technological innovations. In particular, an agrarian population no longer needed in mechanized agriculture and, therefore, superfluous was migrating to urban centers where they became welfare charges. Such arguments explain an increased demand for welfare. A third argument explains the growth of rolls in terms of an increased supply of welfare slots. Authorities expand welfare rolls when social tensions rise as a device for maintaining civil order. Attempts to reduce welfare rolls respond to these arguments by efforts to reduce the demand for assistance. These involve offering more extensive social services to bolster family stability, providing work training to enable potential wage earners to compete more effectively in the urban labor market and offering economic incentives in the form of pay while learning and by reducing welfare at less than 100 percent of money earned. In an effort to control the supply of welfare slots, more restrictive eligibility requirements are introduced. Various programs, over the past few decades, have attempted to reduce welfare rolls by one or another of these strategies. The Work Incentive Program combines elements of all of these approaches. In addition, since so large a number of the affected population is female, an extensive program of child care has been included. The chapter concludes with a brief description of the Work Incentive Program and an assessment of its potential.

While the Work Incentive Program has been implemented nationally, this report is limited to one county--the situation of welfare and poor working mothers and their families in Camden County, New Jersey, in 1969 and 1970. Chapter III describes the local setting. A brief historical note on the economic development of Camden City and a review of some recent relevant population trends set the stage for a description of the formal governmental structure charged with implementing the Work Incentive Program. The organizational relations of the departments of Employment Security and Public Welfare at the state and county levels provide the structure for operationalizing the program guidelines. Federal guidelines were established interpreting the language of the 1967 Amendments to the Social Security Act. The state guidelines explicate and further operationalize federal requirements in recognition of the administrative structure of state government. Procedures established in Camden County adapt these guidelines to the local reality. Excerpts from federal, state and local documents illustrate the normative context of the program. A sense of the training program in action is projected through the report of a participant-observer. Chapter III concludes with excerpts from the local press revealing the atmosphere around the program, the social and institutional climate in which it became operational. The Camden press is the medium for announcing new poverty and manpower services. The press also documents attacks on the welfare system by ideological opponents of a dole and critics who deplore exploitation of the public purse and how impoverished members of the community, for their part, portest their status to the authorities and to the community at large.

--So much for background. The report on our primary data gathered in that setting begins in Chapter IV. The focus of the chapter is on the experience of the sample with the Work Incentive Program--which henceforth will be designated by its acronym, WIN. The initial research goals, instrument construction, sampling and data analysis procedures are set forth skeletally. (Appendices A and B detail the study methods.) Adjustments in the sample design, in response to practical exigencies of the research situation, are noted as the discussion turns to factors influencing the nomination and, ultimately, the selection for participation of WIN candidates, or nominees as they will be termed. Inferences about the subtle, often unspoken, negotiation between the local agency, acting as program gatekeeper, and the population of poor mothers shows the selection process as a further adaptation of the program to local realities. The chapter weaves the complex negotiations from information on the agency's interest in filling "slots" with successes, the personal stability and stability of social relations of clients predisposing to their participation, and selectees, anticipating mobility, learning elements of the work ethic and developing a positive attitude toward work--a social effect which precedes its cause. The chapter closes with a sketchy description of some effects of the program--effects which may be attributable less to the direct socializing impact of the program than to the opportunity it provides the socially mobile. An increase in income, as a result of WIN training, is not the rule and the anticipation of such an increase seems to contribute but slightly to the motivation to participate. The WIN participant becomes a supporter of child care services while, paradoxically, perceiving the WIN program itself as a foe.

The boundary between work and welfare is continually being breached in both directions by women not involved in WIN as well as by WIN trainees. Some poor women living without husbands but responsible for children assume the role of breadwinner in addition to their maternal duties. Others remain fully committed to the traditional maternal-homemaker role while accepting welfare support. Analyses executed with a variety of research styles, all intended to expose some mechanisms involved in this choice of life styles constitute the remainder of the report. Chapter V, contributed by James A. Davis, locates predictors of labor force participation introducing only a minimum of theoretical presuppositions. Davis asks whether the welfare mothers who worked some of the time between the first and second interviews differ from welfare mothers who did not work at all on the basis of measures of work capacity--an index including measures of educational attainment, intelligence and health. To these measures, he adds measures of family situational factors, such as marital status, child dependency and the availability of baby care, and measures of attitudinal factors, such as attitude toward child dependency and housework. In addition, Davis examines the likelihood of working in the light of attitudes that welfare is stigmatizing and of a tendency to associate with others on welfare. Potential earnings, based on a past record of earnings, and an intention to work, as expressed in the first interview, are treated as mechanisms intervening between these measured conditions and labor force participation. Exploiting the panel data, Davis correlates the predictors, as measured at the time of the first interview, and then as measured at the time of the second interview, with likelihood of having worked during the time between interviews. He then asks whether working may be predicted from changes over the year in some of these factors such as the loss or acquisition of children. Potential level of earnings are shown to have little to do with the likelihood of working while an increase in the number of dependents depressed labor force participation.

Chapter VI extends this analysis to the comparison group of full time working mothers and attempts to develop substantive generalizations regarding factors affecting the likelihood of entering the labor force. Work and welfare, it is argued, is a false dichotomy, describing two, among many, ways of relating to the economy. A mother may, simultaneously, receive income from several types of sources--including both work and welfare. Again, economic rewards are relatively insignificant in a mother's decision between work and welfare. Work and homemaking constitute another false dichotomy, a false choice. The incompatibility between work and homemaking is more a consequence of our cultural and social arrangements than a consequence of differing personality orientations. Achievement oriented mothers may have ambitions both for work and for many children. At this point in the argument, a contrast between traditional and modernizing life styles is introduced as a salient explanatory variable. The traditionalist life style usually places familial type relations at the fore. The modernizing mother is beginning to portion off a sector of her life for the wider, perhaps more instrumental, relations of the community. An involvement in the occupational world encourages a widening scope of social relations, a more intense social life. The type of relation to the economy is, in turn, salient in determining the life style. Generally, the woman accepting patrimonial support, such as welfare, adheres to a traditional life style. If she is self supporting and works in a domestic service type occupation, she may also be a traditionalist. Another woman, who participates in the economic society of cash-nexus, tends toward a modernizing orientation. If working, she may well be in the industrial sector. Orientation to life outside the home discriminates women who choose a modernizing life style from those choosing a traditional life style. The chapter discusses the role of social climates and personality in supporting a life of work. As time on welfare increases, some women approach full economic independence with increasing rapidity. Others settle into welfare dependency and become a residual group of long term welfare clients. The chapter describes this welfare polarization process.

Chapter VII, contributed by Jessie Bernard, continues the discussion of labor force participation, employment status and dependency among mothers. She expands on the theme of modernizing and traditional life styles--especially insofar as they rest on economic relations. Observing that while the industrial world turns to relations of the cash nexus (modernizing), women remain longer than men in the world of status (traditionalism) and she concludes that "manpower" policy is not always adequate to problems of women. The categorical analysis of the previous chapters, which searched for factors related to one or another labor force status, becomes a dynamic analysis as Jessie Bernard treats the statuses sequentially. The sequential order is from those totally dependent on welfare, to those who subsist partly on welfare and partly by working, to the dependently employed and, finally, to those fully employed, the working population. Her predictors of the several successive labor force statuses include combined measures of attachment to the domestic role or to the worker role, to the status world or to the cash nexus world and commitment to an ascriptive culture, in effect, attachment to social relationships with others who have traditional or modernizing characteristics. Consistent with previous findings, a work ethic is more important than monetary rewards in influencing a decision to enter the labor force. The chapter closes with a discussion of attributes which would make work status congenial to women.

Chapters VIII and IX document two complementary sectors of the cultural life styles. Chapter VIII treats consumption patterns as indicators of life style. Working and welfare mothers are found to differ little in the per capita incomes of their families. Working mothers with low education appear the most impoverished of all. The pattern of household expenditures is but slightly affected by temporary conditions such as a sudden increase in dependency, characteristics of a stage in the life cycle. Life styles appear to be functions of long term cultural orientations. The way families establish priorities among their expenditures for housing, food and clothing, under conditions of scarcity, reveals the tenacity with which they hold to life styles. An examination of whether various consumption needs lead mothers to a worker role, whether people have a need in mind and then work for it, occupies the last pages of the chapter.

Chapter IX explores that aspect of life style rooted in non-pecuniary values, life style as reflected in religious affiliations. Variations in work or welfare, which were related to race or region of origin in earlier chapters, are shown to be explainable in terms of religious culture. A shift from a welfare to a working life style is accompanied by religious denominational mobility. The religiously non-affiliated among welfare mothers are the poorest and most anomic, the most isolated. Their entrance into a middle class value system is mediated by sectarian groups, Pentecostal and small Baptist and Methodist groups. As they enter the world of work, accepting a work ethic, they are apt to associate with main line black churches. The most modernizing continue to consider themselves religious but break with the institutionalized religion.

The next to last chapter, contributed by Stephen Cole and Robert Lejeune, on illness and the legitimation of failure, tests a hypothesis particularly relevant to understanding the long term welfare clients. Older welfare women have a higher morbidity rate than do the others. On the surface, physical illness, which is indeed more frequent among them, seems to be the cause of their extended dependency. However, Cole and Lejeune show that the sense of failure, both in not becoming self supporting and in not being able to have a complete family, induce illness. Instead of illness producing dependency--dependency causes illness. This illness is a form of withdrawal, serving to legitimate welfare status both for the client herself and for the broader community.

The final chapter presents, in summary fashion, the conclusions of the study and draws their policy implications. The chapter discusses the semantic fallacy which leads us to convert the disparate aggregate of welfare clients to a welfare community and, as a consequence, beclouds the importance of a many-sided welfare policy. The economics of welfare have been overemphasized both in its diagnosis and measures aimed toward welfare amelioration. The economic is but one element in an organic life style and its meaning changes as the life style context changes. Mothers bound to the home because of dependent small children constitute but a secondary problem, a temporary problem of passing a stage in the life cycle. The principle issue revolves around long range life style orientations and work interests. Conclusions are discussed regarding differences in work orientation of the working poor, who arrived at a labor force role through the economy, and the work orientations of those who rally to the labor force through a government sponsored program. The relation of religious communities to changes in life styles is explored. The chapter raises some of the technical-conceptual issues that arise in translating research findings into policy and into operational procedures and speculates about some social effects of a compulsory work requirement.

The main body of the text is followed by a substantial bibliography consisting of sociological and economic studies directly related to the Work Incentive Program and other kindred poverty/manpower programs.

The report is concluded by four major appendices. The first appendix details the research procedures, the construction of the instrument, the testing of the validity and reliability of its measures, the sampling procedures, the organizational arrangement of field work and an anthropological field note on some cultural sources of error which may have affected the interview responses.

Appendix B lists all of the items in the four questionnaires upon which the study is based. These include two questionnaires presented to welfare women in 1969 and 1970 and two parallel questionnaires submitted to working mothers. Frequency distributions of responses to each item are provided for each population and for each wave. These will enable the reader to evaluate the data presented in the text. Where categories of data have been combined, this is indicated. This appendix also reproduces the coding manual, including instructions for classifying some qualitative information obtained through the interviews. With this material and the data on cards or tape, another professional social scientist should be able to replicate our findings and pursue the analysis in greater depth.

Appendix C provides material on black religion as a background for the argument in Chapter IX on the church and life style. Appendix D, contributed by Sheldon R. Roen, is a preliminary report of an analysis of some psychological measures of the study population. He traces some personality differences between working and welfare mothers which articulate with the life style differences analyzed on the social and cultural levels. Now to begin with a survey of federal welfare efforts--.

CHAPTER II

THREE DECADES OF WELFARE AND WORK PROGRAMS: THE BACKGROUND OF WIN

Sar A. Levitan and Martin Rein

The Beginnings of AFDC

It may be useful to place the Work Incentive Program in some historical perspective. The public and policy planners alike ask why the number of persons receiving assistance under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) has risen so precipitously in the past decade. What strategies have been used to reduce welfare? What assumptions underlie each of these strategies? Why do these strategies appear to have been abortive in stemming the rise in the number of persons receiving benefits?

The Aid to Dependent Children program, in which the Work Incentive Program is grounded, was established under the Social Security Act of 1933. Since its inception, the types and number of its clientele and the range of its benefits have undergone a major transformation. The Act established two major approaches to relieving economic want: contributory social insurance, where entitlement to benefits was based on an earned right, related to past contributions, and public assistance which was distributed only after a demonstrated test of need. Social insurance was initially extended only to the old and unemployed, the former through a nationally administered old-age insurance system, and the latter through a federal system largely controlled by the states. Over the years, insurance was extended to cover widows, dependent children, disabled, medical care expenses, and the maintenance of income during periods of illness (a program adopted in only four states). Public assistance was conceived of as a transitional program until the social insurance program matured in the adequacy of its benefits and the extensiveness of its coverage. Federal aid to local public assistance programs was directed at those categories of persons presumed clearly outside of the labor force. Congress specified the aged, the blind and dependent children, categories of need which were already aided in some of the states. No provision was made for federal reimbursements of state grants to mothers of dependent children. The House Ways and Means Committee accepted the figure given in the Veterans' Pension Act for grants to children of servicemen killed in action. Servicemen's widows received a pension. Mothers assisted under the newly created ADC program would not. The Social Security Act assumed an orderly world divided between those who paid contributions and those who received gratuities: it was confident that, in time, the former program would displace the latter.

This tidy conception of Social Security proved inadequate. Public assistance was gradually extended to other groups, almost paralleling the development of social insurance. Thus, in time, the disabled, the medically indigent, parents who cared for dependent children and male adult family heads who had exhausted their unemployment insurance were entitled to benefits. (As coverage was extended, the program changed its name from Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) to Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and, more recently, to the Unemployed Parent segment of the AFDC program (AFDC-UP)). Today, the largest category of assistance is the program for the medically indigent known as Medicaid. Approximately 10 million persons receive over five billion dollars of Medicaid assistance. As public assistance was gradually extended to new categories of need, its clientele grew proportionately. It became a mass program. The proposed Family Assistance Plan provides for a further extension of coverage to those in full time employment. While the coverage of the program has broadened, the original conception of public assistance as transitional and residual in character has not been abandoned. Public policy continues to be committed to reducing the number of persons receiving public assistance and to place less reliance upon a program of assistance based on a means test. Various efforts have been made to reduce welfare rolls by increasing the ability of welfare recipients to be self-maintaining. This aim has been sought through programs offering social services and upgrading employability through job training. The Work Incentive Program (WIN), on which this study focuses, combines these various efforts. WIN is specifically directed to the AFDC population. It emerged at a moment in history when the clientele, benefit structure and size of the AFDC program were perceived as a national crisis. The Nixon Administration's policy is to reform this program through provisions of the Family Assistance Plan. WIN may best be comprehended against the forces which, by changing the character of AFDC, contributed to its design.

The Changing Character of AFDC

New Populations in AFDC

The clientele of the AFDC has changed in at least three important respects. First, the causes of a child's dependency which qualify him for aid have altered dramatically. Nationally, seven of every ten children receiving ADC in 1940 had a father who was dead or incapacitated; in only three cases out of ten was the father absent from the home. In 1969, in over seven of every ten cases the father was absent from the home, in only two in ten was he dead or incapacitated. In the category "father absent but alive" the cause of parental absence is varied. Of all families receiving AFDC in 1969, 28 percent were families in which the father was not married to the mother, and 16 percent were families in which the father had deserted. Separation with or without a court decree and divorce each counted for an additional 14 percent. The changing composition of the AFDC program reflects in part the changes in the composition of poverty. Between 1960 and 1968 the percent of families in poverty headed by females increased from 24 to 35 percent.

The racial composition of the AFDC case load has also shifted. In 1969, 46 percent of all AFDC cases were Negro and another 13 percent represented Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Indians and other racial groups. The proportion of blacks did not change markedly during the 1960's. In 1961 it stood at 44 percent of the case load, 2 percent less than the 1969 figures.

In addition to changes in the family structure and the racial composition of program recipients, perhaps the most dramatic change is that welfare mothers are increasingly regarded as capable of being employed. The concept of employability is elusive. A recent national survey of 35 counties undertaken by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare defined as highly employable AFDC mothers who had completed twelve years of education or who had a record of previous employment in skilled blue collar or white collar jobs. Based on this definition, the survey found that potential employables among women receiving AFDC had risen from 25.3 percent in 1961 to 44.5 percent in 1968. Moreover, 80 percent of those so classified as high employables also expressed a desire to work if they could find a steady job (New York Times, 1970b; Levinson, 1970).

Not only are more AFDC mothers regarded as employable, but 16 percent were actually at work while they received AFDC. (This included 13 percent of white mothers and 19 percent of non-white mothers). Of these numbers, about half were in full time employment and half were in part time employment. Parents with older children and more education were also more likely to work (U. S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Finance, 1970, p. 317).

Changing Sources and Levels of Income

The AFDC mother receives income from a variety of sources in addition to welfare, such as Social Security, child support, and her own earnings. Between 1961 and 1967, income from all other sources increased from 19 percent to 25 percent (Table II-1). While welfare payments clearly remain the primary source of family income, they are by no means the exclusive source of income. Data from Camden, New Jersey, presented in Chapter VI, show that approximately one quarter of the AFDC mothers with children under six received income from earnings, while about one third of the mothers with children over six years of age received income from earnings. Moreover, as the employability of the AFDC mother increases and as national policy encourages women to receive training and go to work, we might anticipate that even larger proportions of family income will come from employment. Training results in dependency on some combination of welfare and employment income.

Not only have the sources of income become more varied, but the average monthly cash payment has increased substantially. Between 1948 and 1969, the average monthly cash payment doubled, an increase only 10 percent less than average monthly earnings in manufacturing; the real level of benefits grew by over one third. The national averages, however, mask the substantial rise in cash payments which has taken place in selected states. Thus, if high benefit and low benefit states are divided, we find that in the high benefit

TABLE II-1

CASH INCOME BY SOURCES FOR AFDC FAMILIES IN 1961 AND 1967

SOURCES OF INCOME	1961	1967
Total Cash Income	$139.10	$205.99
Earnings		
Adult	9.01	23.14
Child	.45	1.84
Other		
Welfare	112.39	156.05
Social Security	4.20	6.95
Unemployment Insurance		.96
Child Support	7.34	10.72
Other Cash Income	4.61	5.44
Income in Kind	1.10	.96

states, benefits have increased more rapidly than average earnings and prices (Rein, 1970). When the value of food stamps and medical benefits are also taken into account, the increase is, of course, even more significant. In the absence of national standards, as the benefits have increased and the sources of income become more varied, traditional regional inequities have grown. At the same time, inequities between the fully employed poor and the AFDC recipient have become more visible. The growth of this latter inequity has provided a rationale for a federal program to supplement the wages of the working poor.

The Numerical Growth of AFDC

The most dramatic change in AFDC since its origin in the 1930's has been the extensive increase in its size. Table II-2 sets out the number of AFDC recipients in selected years between 1936 and 1970. The AFDC program has expanded at an accelerated rate. While the number of recipients approximately doubled in each decade between 1936 and 1956, were the current growth rate to continue, the next doubling would take only half a decade. Moreover, AFDC now constitutes the largest share of the total public assistance program (excluding Medicaid), having grown from one-third of the total during the 1930's to well over two-thirds currently. Not only have the numbers in the program increased at an accelerated rate, but the incidence of family dependency is also growing. In 1955, 3 percent of all children received aid; in 1969, however, 6 percent of all children received aid.

TABLE II-2

NUMBER OF AFDC RECIPIENTS IN SELECTED YEARS 1936-1970

JUNE OF YEAR	NUMBER OF RECIPIENTS
1936	522,000
1946	1,073,000
1956	2,249,000
1966	4,472,000
1967	4,977,000
1968	5,609,000
1969	6,558,000
1970 (March)	7,860,000

Explanations for Rising AFDC Rolls

In its budgetary justification before the House Committee on Appropriations, the administration of HEW offered the following interpretation of the absolute and relative rise of the AFDC program.

1. The increase in broken families and the child population with disproportionate increase in the latter.

2. Increased awareness of availability of Public Assistance and increased effects (sic) to seeking payments through the efforts of community action, welfare rights and civil rights groups.

3. The indirect case finding effects of the Medicaid program which may result in a finding that an applicant is also eligible for a maintenance payment.

4. Changes in eligibility requirements authorized by federal law: Twenty-eight states have adopted a provision of the 1965 amendments which permits earnings of up to $50.00 a child or $150.00 per family to be disregarded in determining eligibility. Forty-three states have adopted another provision of the 1965 amendments permitting children to receive assistance after 18 age if attending school.

5. The continuing problems of the unskilled and the untrained persons in obtaining employment. Despite high rate of productive employment, overall high unemployment and low earnings persist for persons with low educationsl skill and training levels, continuing a long term of decline. Non-white unemployment rates, particularly among young people, are from two to three times those of whites.

They added that even when all these factors are taken into account, only one third of all poor children were receiving AFDC benefits, and, hence, the rates were likely to continue to increase in the future as well (U.S. Congress, House Committee on Appropriations, 1969, Part 3, pp. 8-19, 50).

The administration focused on the variety and complexity of the forces that were increasing the AFDC case load. They called attention to demographic and economic forces, to increased access, to extended coverage, and to altered standards of eligibility. The administration's analysis rejects single cause interpretations. Its argument is consequently more diffuse and its policy implications more uncertain.

The public debate, while acknowledging complexity, has tended to isolate a single strategic causal factor contributing to the AFDC rise. Three major competing interpretations each attempt to relate AFDC growth, in part, to changes in the composition of the recipient population and the benefit levels. Each theory identifies different dimensions and marshalls different evidence.

The Weakening of Family Ties and Encouragement of Welfare Abuse

Moynihan is perhaps the most vigorous among proponents of the view that AFDC rolls are rising because of the weakening of the family. Some years ago he called attention to the fact that the AFDC rates were rising while unemployment rates were declining. The argument seemed to imply that before 1962, AFDC increases parallel unemployment increases. At that time, economic factors did contribute to family disorganization. Men, unable to hold jobs, left their families in the belief that they would not suffer economically as they would secure new sources of entitlement to income from welfare. Indeed, since these AFDC benefits were not available if the husband remained at home, maintaining family solidarity threatened its economic viability. Moynihan never spelled out closely how unemployment rates and AFDC rates were related to each other, and perhaps he had other interpretations in mind. But there was no mistake in the conclusion that he drew from his data. He argued that social rather than economic forces were crucial and the social forces he saw were the increased disorganization of the Negro family. Family pathology in the middle and late 1960's came to displace economic factors as primary causal agents in the AFDC rise. The proportion of families who are abandoned and to a lesser extent the increase in unmarried mothers with illegitimate children may be viewed as an index of family pathology.

The availability of welfare is assumed to contribute to family disorganization. It is generally conceded that a full understanding of the process by which welfare serves as a causal agent to family disorganization is lacking. But several interpretations have emerged, each supported by some fragmentary evidence. First is the view that there is a direct link between welfare entitlement and family structure. Thus, the AFDC breadwinner(s), acting like economic man, tries to alter the family structure to maximize its economic position. Because the absence of the father is a precondition for the receipt of benefits, families reconstitute themselves so as to permit them to become eligible for these benefits. But in New York City, the absence of the father is no longer a requirement for the receipt of benefits and still familites continue to break up. In 1961, there were 12,000 deserted families on welfare in New York City; by 1968, with a stagnant population and a vigorous economy, the number of desertions rose sixfold to 80,000 families. Moreover, illegitimacy during the same period doubled from 20,000 to 46,000 families.

To explain why families continue to break up when there is no external force propelling them in this direction, a more psychological interpretation is offered. Thus, it is argued that the grant goes to the mother and the father seems to play a less central role within the family since he is robbed of his function as a breadwinner. This line of reasoning draws on research findings common during the depression concerning the role crisis men experienced during periods of unemployment.

Those who distrust social-psychological interpretations seek to revive an economic analysis of the increase of family abandonment in New York City during this period of time. They argue that break up of families is only a pretense to enable the family to enjoy both welfare benefits and earnings from employment. Moreover, there is little anxiety and guilt associated with this form of fraud when it is interpreted as a form of reparation for injustices done to the black community. This interpretation is, of course, supported by a folk culture which profoundly believes that welfare and fraud are more intimately linked than welfare and distress.

Finally, there are those who believe that welfare expands the range of choices available to low income wives, for it provides an alternative source of income to earnings. This alternative to earnings is even more attractive when it is administered with dignity and the benefit levels are adequate with respect to prevailing community norms. It is thus a source of economic viability without threatening personal identity and freedom. A woman may choose more freely between staying with an incompetent man and remaining on welfare, or remaining on welfare while seeking more personally satisfying social ties. On balance, given such a choice, some women choose to leave their husbands. Thus, according to this interpretation, it is the woman who abandons the man as her freedom of choice expands, rather than the man abandoning the woman in an effort to restore his dignity when he is robbed of an economic role in the family unit.

A number of studies have attempted to discover the characteristics of the AFDC mother which inhibit or facilitate her willingness and ability to work. Female heads of household with low income who receive AFDC have been compared with those who are employed full time. Bernard (1964) and Kreisberg (1970) exemplify this approach. Two alternative interpretations are offered for the characteristics which distinguish the female headed working poor families from the female headed AFDC recipients. One interpretation points to cultural and attitudinal differences between these groups. The welfare recipients have organized a value system which repudiates work and the dominant norms of society. Low intelligence and emotional instability reinforce the choice of this way of life. The alternative interpretation accounts for the major differences between these groups in terms of demographic and structural factors. Women who work tend to be older, have children who have grown up, have had an earlier work history than those who are currently on AFDC, etc. Moreover, when these women were in comparable positions, they, too, were in receipt of welfare. The present Camden study extends this approach combining attitudinal and structural considerations while, at the same time, exploring deeper level personality factors, problems of social ethos, microeconomic factors in family budget, the more sociologically based concerns with normative conformity and religious institional influences.

Policy Implications

Those who focus on family disorganization as a primary factor in the rise of AFDC adumbrate the earlier conflict between adequacy and social integration. The Charity Organization Society argued that a benificent and compassionate society that administered the dole loosely and without systematic method encouraged people to exploit the welfare system. Uncoordinated charities enabled families to receive benefits from several sources, thus making welfare competitive to work. As more and more individuals exploited the inadequacies of the administration of welfare (then called the Poor Law), the economic viability of the society was threatened as people who chose the dole over work.

Modern proponents of this view have a very similar line of argument. They no longer attribute the rise to uncoordinated charities as much as they do to either administrative laxity or liberality and adequacy of benefit levels, but they argue that with 13 percent of the population of New York City in receipt of benefits, the economic stability of the city is threatened. Thus, a harsh choice must be made between compassion and survival. The rise in AFDC exposes this difficult dilemma. Nathan Glazer summarizes with clarity and force this point of view. He asserts:

> The dilemma of income maintenance is that, on the one hand, it permits the poor to live better and with greater dignity. But on the other, it also permits them to live with less incentive to work, and with less incentive to form those close units of self-support -- family in the first case, but also larger units -- that have in the past formed the fabric of society ... But the history of our efforts to expand policies of income support suggest that inevitably, as we do the first, we also contribute to the second. (p. 31).

It is clear that Glazer favors strengthening the traditional constraints on which a civil society must rest. Hence, he is drawn to the position that the incentives to work must be strengthened. And so we must infer that, while no clear choice can be made, incentive must be preserved at the cost of dignity.

Welfare and the Maldistribution of Income

Lagging wage levels, along with the rise in the AFDC benefit levels, it is argued, have contributed to the rise in AFDC. In some high benefit states, benefit levels of AFDC have risen to, and in some cases exceeded, the poverty line. In New York City, for example, between 1962 and 1967, the average monthly direct grant per case rose 32 percent while the national average wage levels rose by 24 percent. During the same period of time, average wages in manufacturing in New York City rose by 19 percent and minimum wage levels by 30 percent. The budget allowance for a family of four increased by 45 percent during this period (Bernstein, 1970). The average grant grew more rapidly than low or even averages wages (Durbin, 1969, Table 13).

The family income levels of minority groups were failing to keep pace with general wage increases. Bernstein estimates that the family income of blacks in New York City rose by 7.6 percent between 1959 and 1968, whereas white income rose by 15.6 percent.

If New York City is typical, then the benefit levels on AFDC, in at least some cities, are rising more rapidly than price and wage levels, thus increasing the real benefits of AFDC which become competitive with earning levels. Earnings of minority groups, and unskilled groups, in particular, have failed to keep pace with this rise in benefit levels, and these are the groups most likely to seek out welfare.

A full account of this rise cannot be discerned because of incomplete information on the distribution of income in cities. However, Gordon (1969) has made a heroic attempt to relate the distribution of income in New York City to the rise of welfare benefits. Based on his analysis, Gordon argues that the number of eligibles doubled between 1964 and 1968 and increased by yet another 22 percent between January and November 1968. But, despite this tripling of case loads, the proportion of eligibles who were accepted for AFDC has actually declined and remains only about one half the pool of eligibles. Thus, a more open administration has failed to make an impact on the problem of the under-utilization of welfare. The rise in welfare then is not so much accounted for by changes in administrative practices as it is by the increase in the pool of eligible persons. Thus, Gordon argues that in August 1968, welfare benefit levels were increased by an average of 7 per cent for ADFC cases, an amount equal to about $250 per year for a family of four persons. But the effect of this modest increase was stunning. "The slight dollar increase immediately causes an increase of 300,000 in the number of eligibles ... and after the August increase, close to half of the city's minority population lived in families that were eligible to receive welfare payments."

Bernstein takes exception to Gordon's thesis and argues that when different estimates are made on the growth of income for various minority groups, that "the number currently on welfare just about matches the number eligible" (Bernstein, 1970, p. 114). The Bernstein-Gordon debate is a technical debate centering on difference sources of information for computing income distribution for the City of New York. Bernstein appears to be challenging Gordon on the extent of under-utilization, but she appears to accept, at least implicitly, the thesis that welfare rises are linked to a relationship between benefit levels and distribution of income, especially as it affects minority groups.

A study which attempts to understand the increase in supplementary benefits in Britain reached a similar conclusion. Atkinson (1969) reports on vigorous efforts to recruit those eligible for supplementary benefits.

Nevertheless, he says, the rise in the numbers receiving benefits is better accounted for by changes in the number eligible than by an increased effectiveness in reaching those already eligible who failed to utilize their entitlements. In short, then, welfare rises when benefits rise, because the pool of potentially eligible persons is thereby expanded. This is likely to be very substantial when benefits rise more rapidly than wages and prices on the one hand, or when the wage levels of minority and low income groups fail to keep pace with increasing benefit levels.

Policy Interpretation

The association between wage and benefit levels indicates the importance of integrating social and economic policies. If benefit levels in crease at the same rate that average wages increase, and if low wages increase at a slower rate than average wages, then welfare benefits and low wages will continue to overlap. Then each increase in benefit levels will broaden the size of the population eligible for welfare. Should welfare recipients who are outside the productive community share fully in the life of that community as consumers? An affirmative answer conflicts with more traditional views that employment through the pursuit of a trade or profession is the only wholly respectable means of acquiring an income and those who do not or cannot maintain themselves in this way should at all times be subject to some economic incentive to do so. It follows then that benefit levels should lag behind wage levels. But if we believe that the poor should participate as consumers in the society, then benefit levels and wage levels should be related, even if such a policy increases the number receiving welfare payments. At the same time, it is also important to accelerate the rate of rise in the real wages and income of minority groups and low wage groups, either by increasing their productivity or their claim to resources, independent of their economic contribution.

Welfare and Civil Disorder

Frances Piven and Richard Cloward recently developed an elaborate thesis linking the increase in welfare with the increase in civil disorder. They argue that relief expands to cope with disorder and contracts when stability is restored. A market system is characteristically plagued by periods of depression or stages of modernization and the net effect of both of these processes is to displace large numbers of individuals from employment. Dependency in the United States in recent years is to a substantial degree a reflection of what Tobin called the final and painful phase of the liquidation of the 19th century agricultural system of the South. When less work is available, the daily routine and discipline of employment no longer serves to regulate the behavior of the heads of the households. As the work role is weakened, other integrative roles such as derive from meeting family obligations are also weakened. The net effect of these processes is to weaken the allegiances of the worker to society. Stability is threatened and civil disorder erupts. Society copes with these disorders by expanding relief. In part, welfare serves as a device for quieting the discontent of those whose way of life is threatened by economic change. But it also serves as a mode of control similar to that which routinized work performs. Even economically useless work is socially useful in this sense. As a result, work behavior is required as a condition to get welfare.

But welfare did not rise during the period of the 1950's when the economic displacement of the Negro was most in evidence and the planter and tenant relationships were disrupted. There was a time lag. Blacks migrated to cities. When the character of American cities changed due to earlier immigration, the move to suburbs, etc., and black unemployment levels rose in the late 1950's, new solutions were sought. At first. it was hoped that the needs of the displaced could be accommodated by the reform of other systems of intervention. Programs such as delinquency prevention, community mental health, community action, model cities, etc. developed as ways to cool the ghetto off. All these programs had in common an effort to direct resources at the neighborhood level, bypassing state government and even city government on occasion as well. As these programs reached their limits and discontent with them grew, new directions to improve the rising militant demands of blacks were sought. The logical response was to provide plentiful jobs at adequate wage levels. But an open employment policy challenged entrenched interest groups such as labor and management. After 1964, the rising volatility of the black community and the rising importance of the black vote in large cities made it increasingly imperative that some effective public response be forthcoming. And this task was left to public welfare. It was once again called upon to perform the role it had always done historically when civil disorder rose and seemed to threaten the stability of society. And, as in the 16th and 18th centuries in Britain and Europe, relief rolls rose dramatically.

Work behavior becomes increasingly required as a condition for getting relief, thus enabling welfare to serve as a means for routinizing, integrating and controlling the behavior of those whose ties to society have been weakened. Welfare in this sense becomes a substitute for the role of the family and the role of employment as mechanisms of social integration. But, when stability is restored, welfare no longer needs to serve this purpose. The rolls begin to drop and the anomaly of dependency rising with prosperity passes away.

Policy Implications

We have taken some liberties with the interpretation, but we believe we have been faithful to the main argument. The thesis is provocative and suggestive. It anticipates the decline in welfare rolls at a time when public concern is riveted on their rise. Hence, they are concerned that an effort will be made to erode the gains that were won in the preceeding era. Central to this argument is that local welfare administrators responded to the civil disorder by becoming more liberal in the standards of eligibility, the standards used to ration welfare benefits, in their review of currently active cases, and in the stringency with which active cases were closed. Thus, higher proportions of cases that applied were accepted, the average length of stay of cases increased, and the proportion of cases that were closed for reasons of non-compliance declined. Moreover, as it became known that the welfare system was an "easy to get into" system, the number of applications also increased. Thus, a more responsive administration reduced the extent of under-utilization as those who were entitled to benefits used the services. (This is a somewhat different interpretation than the Gordon theses which argued that despite administrative liberality, the proportion of under-utilization among the eligible population has remained the same).

As we enter a period of stability, where the turbulence of the cities becomes cooled out, we can anticipate new policies where administrative regulation will become more stringent and welfare rolls will begin to contract. the liberal will try to find ways to consolidate the gains won in a liberal era by trying to make administration less responsive to the changed political climate. The conservative will be eager to exploit it and to accelerate the process of restabilization. The common theme is the administrative responsiveness of the guardians of the welfare bureaucracy to external pressure.

Current Strategies to Reduce Welfare Rolls

Three main strategies have been used to limit welfare: eligibility as deterrance, social service as rehabilitation and opportunity and training and income incentives as preparation for work. Eligibility restriction and social services have been the traditional ways in which welfare rolls were contained. The search for an income strategy, to provide an economic incentive to return to work, is relatively new. All of these strategies have been abortive in stemming the rise in the welfare case loads during the 1960's. Thus, the direction of future policies remains somewhat uncertain. What follows, then, is a review of each strategy.

Eligibility Restrictions

Perhaps the earliest explicit strategy for containing assistance through eligibility restrictions was embodied in the principles of the Poor Law of 1834 referred to as the doctrine of less eligibility. This doctrine asserted that as a matter of principle, the situation of a person in receipt of relief "shall not be made really or apparently so eligible as the situation of the independent laborers of the class" (Bruce, 1968). At one time, this doctrine was harshly interpreted. It meant the loss of personal freedom when aid was given only to those who accepted the Workhouse Test; the loss of the franchise when recipients were denied the right to vote; and finally the loss of personal dignity when benefits were meager in amount and harshly administered. Over time, the principles of 1834 have been substantially liberalized and the ideals of the right to live have been affirmed. Nevertheless, a modern version of less eligibility persists. It finds expression not only with respect to the level of benefits, but also in the way people are treated in local welfare departments and in their own homes.

The reliance upon eligibility restrictions to limit the numbers in receipt of welfare appears to follow a cyclical pattern. During the prosperous period from World War II to 1950, welfare rolls increased sharply from 871,802 to 2,235,477. The percentage of non-white also increased from

21 percent in 1942 to 31 percent in 1948. "The response of many states to political pressures, financial strain and public indignation was to impose more stringent eligibility requirements and, in a few instances, to reduce the size of the grant ... There was a proliferation of eligibility requirements" (Meyers and McIntyre, 1969, p. 6). And the allegations of fraud and mismanagement created pressure for the review of eligibility procedures. Senator Joseph McCarthy's famous investigations were concerned with eligibility discriminations. While eligibility rules were clearly used to deny aid, it was not until the 1960's that employability rules in Newburgh and suitable home rules in Louisiana emerged as a public debate. National attention was riveted on these issues. The federal administrators challenged the principle of less eligibility. They announced that Louisiana would not qualify for federal funds if they denied ADC to a child on the grounds of an unsuitable home as long as the child remained in the home. Parental fitness and suitable home rules, because they seemed to contribute to the practice of racial discrimination and because they encouraged intra-state variation in eligibility requirements and thus conflicted with the principle of uniformly of state practice, were discouraged by federal policy. The Supreme Court decision reaffirmed and extended all federal action. The Court declared that states could not deny welfare benefits to mothers because there was an able-bodied man living in the house. They rejected the man-in-the-house rule. Residency requirements as a condition for the receipt of benefits were also declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court on the ground that they denied equal protection under the law. Decreased reliance was placed on eligibility restrictiveness as a strategy for reducing case loads, in contrast to the 1935 congressional action which affirmed the principle that states could consider "moral" qualifications as a condition for granting aid.

But if there is a cyclical reliance upon eligibility restriction as a means of constraining the numbers of recipients, then we can anticipate a return to this strategy in the future. There is some evidence that Congress may move in this direction. The Senate Finance Committee voted without a quorum in November 1970 to restore to states the right to impose one year residency requirements and to enact "man-in-the-house" rules (New York Times, November 25, 1970). This informal vote suggests the mood in the traditionally liberal Senate may be changing. The use of eligibility requirements as a condition for the receipt of aid was established in the 1967 Amendments to the Social Security Act and reaffirmed in the Family Assistance Plan.

While there was a clear trend to liberalize eligibility requirements, there was at the same time Congressional insistence that established standards of eligibility be enforced. In the spring of 1962, the Senate Appropriations Committee called for a national survey of rates of ineligibility in state public assistance loads. These reviews of eligibility procedures were repeated annually and in special situations. For example, in 1969, an eligibility review was undertaken in New York City as Congress was concerned about the sharp rise in the city's case load.

Many of the federal bureaucrats who were called upon to implement these reviews were apprehensive that they would be used as a device for restriction. But the results of the eligibility survey did not affirm an empirical basis for such restrictive action. Surveys conducted on an annual basis confirmed earlier administrative reviews which had estimated that there were approximately 3 percent eligibility errors. Of course, there was significant regional variation. In some states and large cities, the proportion of ineligibles was three to five times as high as the national average.

It appears that these national eligibility surveys were initiated by Congress on the assumption that the rise in AFDC case loads was related to administrative laxity. Little empirical evidence could be marshalled in support of eligibility looseness as a factor in rising rolls. The results of these surveys were not widely distributed nor did they appear to play a substantial role in influencing federal policy.

Moreover, these surveys not only gathered information on ineligibility, but on the rates of over and under payment. They discovered that in 1962, in at least 34 states, over and under payments were in excess of 20 percent. By 1968 some improvement was noted, but 20 states still have over and under payments in excess of 20 percent. The tendency was to overpay those in the adult categories and underpay the AFDC clients. Such findings contributed little to an argument for more restrictiveness.

We turn from a review of policy to an examination of eligibility restriction practices. A federally initiated study reported by the Bureau of Social Science Research (Meyers and McIntyre) in 1969 provides a breakdown of national patterns. States were classified in terms of the restrictiveness or leniency of their eligibility requirements and of the levels of financial support they provide AFDC recipients (1). (See Table II-3).

TABLE II-3

CROSS CLASSIFICATION OF STATES BY ELIGIBILITY RESTRICTION AND BENEFIT LEVELS

MAXIMUM GRANT PAYABLE	RESTRICTIVENESS OF ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS	
	Restrictive	Lenient
Low to Medium (less than $135-$179)	19	10
High (more than $180)	5	14

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[1] The classification was based on official statements of policy and included the following factors: cost standards in determining need; limits set on the value of home and property; income reserved for specific purposes such as education; man-in-the-house rule; residence requirements; ADC limits of eligible children and duration of desertion, parental incapacity, etc. before the family can become eligible for benefits.

It seems clear from this table that states make use of varied patterns. The most frequent pattern is restrictive eligibility requirements combined with low benefits (19 states) or its opposite, high benefits and lenient requirements (14 states). Thus, despite the drift of policy toward liberality, the modal practice was toward stringency in benefits and eligibility. But, 10 states had lenient policies and low benefits; that is to say, they created a system that was easy to enter but offered little value once in the program. By contrast, 5 states made conditions of entry difficult, but offered relatively generous benefits once in receipt of aid. The once unified doctrine of less eligibility has become more differentiated and complex.

But what impact does the move to less restrictiveness of eligibility have on the size of the case load? Little systematic evidence exists. However, the opportunity to do something like a before and after study presented itself in Massachusetts when, in 1962, the state legislature repealed the state's ADC law which required that the parent be fit and that the home be suitable as a precondition for the receipt of ADC benefits. Derthick ter 4, pp. 24-29) attempted to assess the impact of this legislation on the case load. She was able to demonstrate that in 1960, from an analysis of 29 cities in Massachusetts, 62 percent of the variation in ADC rates (children receiving ADC as a proportion of children under 18) was accounted for by three demographic and economic variables -- the proportion of women separated and divorced; the proportion of low income families (under $3,000); and the proportion of non-white persons under 18. She argues that the unexplained 38 percent of the variation "might be the result of differences in agency interpretation of eligibility rules, especially the fitness provisions". Based on these demographic and economic variables, ADC rates were projected for each city and the disparity between the predicted and actual rates was computed. As anticipated, the most extreme deviations occurred in cities where the fitness provision was implemented, especially in one northeastern city. She repeated her regression analysis after the eligibility restrictions were repealed by state law. She found that "in agencies that had lower ADC rates in 1960 than, according to statistical analysis, they 'should,' case loads generally increased at a rapid rate in the next five years". Removal of the eligibility restrictions also had the effect of reducing inter-city variation of ADC rates, as the unexplained variations in rates dropped from 38 percent to 25 percent.

Services as a Strategy for Reducing the Case Load

The idea that case work and other social services could play a major role in the prevention and rehabilitation of economic dependence is an essential assumption of service strategy. This assumption, which also underlies the Poor Law, is based on the common sense belief that the resourceful use of personal influence can change character and thereby rescue individuals from dependency. The approach requires individualization and investigation. At first, the influence was exerted by elites on the poor as the early history of "scientific" social work was bound together with the *noblesse oblige* of Protestant elites. But later, professional guidance and counselling replaced the personal influence of friendly visiting. More recently, with the increase of non-professionals, the idea that the poor can help each other has become accepted. Of course, volunteers, professional workers or the poor cannot by themselves undertake the total task of rehabilitation. The integrated support of other community institutions is also required. Thus, the emphasis on referrals was also a critical assumption upon which the service approach was premised.

Not long after the Social Security Act of 1935, was passed, a sustained attempt to include services within the public assistance program was initiated. Most early efforts proved abortive. However, in 1956, during the Eisenhower Administration, an important purpose shifted. The public assistance program in the Social Security Act was limited to helping states provide financial aid. This aim was broadened to include three other purposes - promoting self-care, self-support, and the strengthening of family life. Although Congress authorized expenditure for such services in the 1956 amendments, it did not appropriate any funds until four years later. Not until the Social Security amendments of 1962 was the service strategy attempted on a large scale with the financial support of congressional appropriations. These were the years of optimism. President Kennedy declared before Congress that welfare should not confine itself to the task of "picking up debris from the wreckage of human lives ... we must place more stress on services instead of relief". And Senator Ribicoff confidently explained to the Senate Finance Committee "that services represent the key to our efforts to help people become self-sufficient". Although the purpose of amendments in 1956 stressed several aims, the Ways and Means Committee Report on the 1962 Social Service Amendments left no doubt that it regarded the primary purpose of the provision of services "to help families become self-supporting rather than dependent on welfare checks".

So much, then, for the assumptions and the purposes on which the service amendments rested. What specifically was to be done to reduce dependence? Essentially, the strategy rested on four specific approaches:
(1) Case workers need to have more time to deal with their clients and, therefore, smaller case loads combined with more professional supervision was crucial. A worker should carry no more than 60 cases and no supervisor should have more than 5 workers. Time to help was a precondition for the rendering of more effective services. (2) The classification of the case loads with respect to problems that clients had and, where possible, an appraisal of likelihood with which a client could be helped with his problem. The legislation required states to conduct a social survey and plan for services for all families with children. (3) Direct services rendered by the case worker in the form of counseling, guidance or referral for other services. This is the basic case worker method. (4) Direct service was to be reinforced by enabling services which called for consultation on legal, social, educational, medical, etc. problems; and by complementary services, such as homemaker, day care, etc. Because social services were defined as all activities initiated on behalf of the reduction of clients' problems, demonstration projects and community planning as well as direct, enabling and complementary services were also included as relevant aspects of this strategy.

Five years after the implementation of the service amendments, there was no possible way of discerning what services were rendered and how effective they were. By 1967, it was estimated that the annual costs of these services in AFDC had reached 228 million dollars. Welfare workers had also substantially increased from about 41,000 in 1960 to 141,000 in 1967. A federal statistical report on social services could list the areas in which services were rendered (health care, family functioning, protection of children, self-support, etc.) and the proportion of cases classified as having received services in these areas. However, "the meaning of the terms is nowhere specified and the activities they are supposed to reflect are by no means clear, but ... probably reflect the case workers' checking off of what are essentially subject areas. There is, of course, no way to explore whether anything was accomplished" (President's Commission on Income Maintenance Programs, 1970, pp. 308-309).

While it is not possible to say what, if anything, happened or how effective were these events or non-events, this does not mean that nothing was learned. Experience from administrative reviews by federal officials showed that an elaborate process of case classification which was, in principle, so essential to the proper diagnosis of need, to the intelligent referrals, to an efficient allocation of personnel and to responsible accounting of effort, was self-defeating. In short, the effort to create a system of accountability produced a sea of paperwork that threatened to deluge the entire operation and in the end may have perversely reduced the time and energy that workers could exert in the rendering of services, if even they could be clearly defined. All this made the argument for the simplification of eligibility procedures seem compelling.

Simplification required a conception of services different from guidance which called for intimate knowledge of clients' problems. But what about referrals, the other crucial assumption of the service strategy? The administrative review of the Big Cities project suggests no substantial amount of referral to other public or private institutions took place. Thus, the heart of the strategy, its emphasis on counseling and referral, was not being implemented on a large scale. While the validity of the strategy cannot be assessed, its administrative feasibility is clearly in doubt.

Services for economically disadvantaged groups raise afresh the age old question of the extent to which these services become a mechanism to control and contain the behavior of those they hope to rehabilitate. Writing in 1946, Grace Marcus observed that:

> In every case load there are some situations in which poverty, chronic illness, or marital conflict produce a bewildering number of consequences, such as bad housing, undernourishment, insufficient household equipment, slovenly housekeeping, negligence of the training and supervision of children, or unregulated management. In such situations the agency is tempted to shift from individual's affairs. (Derthick, Chapter 6, p. 3)

In 1970 the authors of the President's Commission in Income Maintenance reached a similar conclusion as they explained that, "It is clear that providing services aimed at changing patterns of life and behavior as part of the scheme whereby sustenance is provided, placed a good deal of control in the hands of the administering agency" (President's Commission on Income Maintenance, 1970, p. 305).

The 1967 amendments to the Social Security Act introduced an important shift of emphasis in the service strategy. These amendments did not repudiate the service strategy, but changed its form. Three major changes can be identified: (1) More stress is being placed on retraining and work-experience. The Work Incentive Program to be administered by the Department of Labor is adopted into law. (2) More emphasis is placed on concrete services, such as family planning, day care, homemaking, vendor services, protective services, etc. Direct case work services are de-emphasized. (3) A new strategy based on economic incentives to encourage AFDC families to accept work and training is emphasized.

Work, Training and Economic Incentives

The presumption that AFDC recipients were "unemployable" and outside the work force became untenable in 1961 when the federal government extended coverage to families headed by an unemployed male parent (AFDC-UP). The need for the new law was clear, since the original Social Security Act denied assistance to families headed by an able-bodied male. The presence of "employable" parents on relief prompted Congress in 1962 to amend the Social Security Act to subsidize employment programs for relief recipients; until 1962 all AFDC recipients were presumed to be outside the work force and public assistance funds could not be used to provide work. States were encouraged to adopt Community Work and Training (CW&T) programs designed to offer work relief rather than cash payments, and hopefully also to help AFDC-UP recipients achieve economic independence. By their nature, such work-relief projects serve many aims. They can embody the principle of less eligibility, in that, by setting conditions for receipt of the cash grant, they may deter requests for aid. They can be viewed as "social services" providing work discipline and nourishing work habits; and they can provide a base for training in the acquisition of new skills as a form of on-the-job training.

The purpose of the 1962 amendment was twofold: to allay public criticism of relief payments to persons able to work, and to create work relief projects which would train and "rehabilitate" recipients. "Working off" relief was justified as being better for the recipients' morale and providing useful public services under safeguards which prevent exploitation or the displacement of regular workers. While the CW&T's energies were directed at work-relief, formal emphasis was also given to training and rehabilitation, reflecting thereby the nascent movement in the early sixties toward more organized manpower and training programs for the disadvantaged. Manpower training for those on assistance was further emphasized under Title V of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and later under the Work Incentive Program -- referred to as WIN to avoid the acronym of WIP -- created under the 1967 amendment to the Social Security Act. Each program is considered in turn.

Under Title V of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, grants were to be given to state and local welfare agencies to pay the full costs of "demonstration" projects so that the states could establish Work Experience and Training (WE&T) programs and provide for the expansion of CW&T projects. In addition to unemployed parents on relief, "other needy persons", including single adults, were declared eligible. A 1965 amendment to the Act qualified farm families with less than $1,200 annual income (net) to participate in the program. But 70 percent of Title V clients were recipients of federally supported public assistance. The program reached its peak enrollment of 67,000 in 1966. Roughly half of these were male and two-fifths black. Only two-thirds had ever had six months of continual work experience, and most were poorly educated.

The funds allocated to this effort ($112 million during WE&T's first year of operation) and the broadening of eligibility reflected an increasing realization that low national unemployment rates might not be sufficient to assure a job for everyone who wanted work. Even though unemployment dropped throughout the 1960's, certain groups continued to experience considerable joblessness. A basic tenet of the antipoverty effort has been an attempt to reach out -- even beyond the welfare rolls -- to help persons who cannot compete in the labor market in order to remove the "structural" barriers to their employment.

Providing useful training and work to participants proved to be a formidable task; most enrollees had multiple handicaps and little attachment to regular work. While the enrollees' work assignments feature a certain amount of information vocational instruction, the bulk of these assignments was limited to low paying, unskilled occupations with little upgrading. This phenomenon can be understood partly in light of the trainees' limited skills and educational attainment, and partly because of the administrative difficulties in converting a work-relief project to on-the-job training (OJT).

Despite laudable goals of rehabilitation and uplift, WE&T remained primarily a work-relief and income maintenance program. Expenditure patterns show this clearly: in fiscal 1968, for example, well over one-half of the funds were spent for income maintenance, but only one-sixth each for work experience activities and vocational education.

The overall success of WE&T in reducing dependency through rehabilitation was modest. According to one survey, three of every four trainees departed without completing their assignments; only one-fifth of them left to take a job. Half of the trainees who left Title V (whether by "graduation" or drop out) continued on public assistance rolls; of these, 17 percent were employed and 83 percent unemployed.

Nor did the high dropout rate presage success for "graduates". Through June 1967, some 42,000 trainees completed all training prescribed for them. While one-half obtained employment immediately and another one-eighth went on to advanced training under other programs, fully three-eighths were unable to find employment immediately following completion of their Title V training even in the right labor markets that prevailed at that time.

Another study was based on data from all persons who terminated training for any reason in an eight month period starting January 1, 1967. A detailed work and welfare history was kept for an 18 month period prior to training, thus permitting comparisons of the same persons over time. The experiencesof these trainees were then compared to current and former recipients in each city. When pre- to post-training periods are compared, the author concludes that there was little reduction in the amount of time that trainees were dependent on public assistance or exclusively reliant upon work as compared to non-trainees. But the "increase in the amount of time during which work and welfare were combined was fairly considerable" (Meyers and McIntyre, 1969, p. 55). Training did not contribute much to eliminating complete economic dependency, but, at the same time, it did increase the amount of time that trainees were partially self-supporting.

Thus, as a rehabilitation program, WE&T did not rate highly. This is especially true since the average family with an employable parent remains on relief for less than a year,and thus most would have found employment even without the program.

Work Incentive Program

The major failing of Title V (WE&T) was that few participants were able to become exclusively self-supporting through employment in the private sector. In 1967, Congress actively shaped the Public Assistance Law. The House Ways and Means Committee was profoundly concerned about the rising AFDC rolls, which it found had at that time doubled in the last decade. In the Ways and Means Committee Report, it explained that the Committee "is now recommending several coordinated steps which it expects, over time, will reverse the trend toward higher and higher federal financial commitments in the AFDC program. The over-all plan which the Committee has developed ... amounts to a new direction for AFDC legislation" (U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Ways and Means, 1967, p. 96). The main element of this new legislative direction was the Work Incentive Program and the provisions in it to make work training mandatory for individuals and, by limiting the open-ended federal reimbursement provisions of the Public Assistance Law, to force the states as well to develop a program which would decrease the AFDC case load (the AFDC "freeze").

The Work Incentive Program provisions sought to strengthen training, redefine the nature of rehabilitative and supportive services and place greater emphasis upon economic incentives. Moreover, the WIN program consolidated its target population by aiming only at public assistance recipients.

There were some economic rewards for participation in earlier programs. Enrollees could receive the full amount of the state's minimum welfare payment even where they had been receiving less than this amount. Allowances were also made for work-related expenses; however, neither of these was available for former participants with private jobs. The Work Incentive Program sought to provide an economic incentive to those who continued at work or in training.

During training, participants received $30 per month along with the social services needed for the successful completion of training and along with continued welfare payments. Upon finding jobs, they may retain the first $30 of their monthly earning and one-third of the remainder. While this constitutes a steep 67 percent tax rate on annual earnings above $360 (maximum federal personal income tax rate for the very wealthy is only 70 percent), this was the first time that earnings were not taxed dollar for dollar. And, for extremely low incomes, the tax rate becomes smaller because of the disregards.

The social services that the WIN program hoped to offer were broadly conceived and presumably adapted to each individual's needs. These include orientation, job tryouts, basic education and other pre-vocational training, institutional training, OJT, referral to other manpower programs and follow-up, "coaching" by aides recruited from poverty areas, and free day care for children. The intent of the WIN program is that participants can receive more intensive, more individualized, and more unified services than under the WE&T program, where the effort to locate services through other programs was more haphazard.

Along with these silent economic inducements of improving the economic position of welfare recipients who enter training or find work, and along with the provision of services to support and enable families to secure training and work, WIN also features a work requirement. Most of the adults in the AFDC program are required to register with a local welfare agency for referral, although in the final legislation limits were set on the kinds of cases that were to be referred compulsorily for employment or training. These were to be left essentially to the discretion of individual state welfare departments.

In practice, the compulsory feature did not prove important, although it was vigorously contested in principle. This was the case primarily because voluntary registration far exceeded available positions. A list of priorities was therefore created to ration the flow, in decreasing order of job readiness. Target groups, in order of preference, were: unemployed fathers; dependent youths aged 16 or over who were not in school, at work, or in training, and for whom there were no educational plans to be implemented within three months; and, finally, volunteer mothers from AFDC rolls. Camden's experience was, as will be seen in the following chapters, typical. Through the end of 1969, volunteers were more than sufficient to fill the 250 slots in the Camden County district. Even among the males in the AFDC population, for whom enrollment is mandatory, compulsion was minimal since the vast majority of these men were ineligible for WIN because of physical or mental incapacity. Because of the limited number of slots, enrollment among AFDC women was voluntary, and only a small proportion of the total case load entered this program.

Before taking up the Camden experience in detail, it will be useful to review some national experience with the WIN program. Voluntarism changed the character of the program, by providing a pool of presumably highly motivated participants. There has been little need to sanction by withholding of monetary payments any enrollee in a specific part of the WIN program, or allied programs, for absenteeism or refusal to participate. It should be recognized, of course, that AFDC adults acted in order to avoid the possible sanctions; and that as the WIN program is expanded and voluntarism decreases, sanctions may be more frequently employed in the future. Despite its larger goals in replacing WE&T, WIN did not expand at its projected rate, nor are its rehabilitative services and manpower training a marked improvement over what had been offered. It was not integrated into real labor markets and the work incentive provisions were self-defeating when seen against the wider spectrum of means tested programs. Each theme is briefly discussed.

Because instructions to the states on the establishment of projects were inadequate and limiting statutes in some states had to be repealed, WIN started slowly. Although officials had hoped to fill 150,000 slots by the end of fiscal 1970, only 89,445 were enrolled as of April 30, 1970. In addition, 53,000 had dropped out of the program, while 25,000 participants had found jobs.

WIN is a more ambitious program than its predecessors (see Table II-4). The program places emphasis on institutional training, including basic education and day care. But, at an average annual cost of $1,250 per slot (exclusive of work incentives once jobs are found), WIN cannot offer much more extensive services than WE&T. Enrollees are expected to require from seven to nine months of training, at an average cost per enrollee of $750 to $950.

TABLE II-4

WORK INCENTIVE PROGRAM EXPENDITURES BY ACTIVITY
(in millions)

FUNDING BY ACTIVITY	1969 (Actual)	1970 (Estimate)	1971 (Estimate)
Total Outlays	32.6	137.8	199.0
Total Appropriations	117.5	129.6	170.0
Training and Incentives			
On-the-Job Training	.8	.9	1.8
Institutional Training	21.7	66.4	99.4
Work Experience and Orientation	5.0	9.2	13.0
Work Projects	.1	.8	2.4
Employability Planning, Job Development and Follow-up	3.4	12.9	18.0
Program Direction and Evaluation	2.1	6.0	7.3
Child Care	4.2	31.3	77.3

Most WIN enrollees receive either nominal instruction or no instruction at all. The training offered under WIN is probably little better than under WE&T. A national evaluation grimly concludes that not all training courses "are well conceived for the special requirements of welfare clients".

The permanent effect of this training cannot be expected to be large. If this is the case, the manpower services as opposed to the work incentives under WIN will have few long run benefits.

The provision of day care is a necessary ingredient in increasing the employability of most AFDC heads. In many ways, it is the most critical component of WIN, and outlays were expected to rise from one-eighth to three-eighths of the total by fiscal 1971. In the past, the meager day care expenditures have limited program performance. Indeed, former Secretary of HEW Robert Finch suggested that "the failure of day care in great part has contributed to the failure of the WIN program ..." (U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Ways and Means, 1969, p. 367). Because of the slow start of WIN and the substantial complement of males in the early stages, only 61,000 children received day care under WIN as of the end of calendar year 1969, and only one-fifth of these were in regular day care facilities.

These levels are not adequate for the expected child care workload. One estimate for fiscal 1971, for example, projected an average of 93,400 mothers receiving care, a little over half of them enrollees and others employed mothers. If all AFDC households are considered as the universe of need, it becomes clear that day care facilities will have to be vastly expanded if the goal of WIN to reduce sharply the AFDC rolls is to materialize. A national study of AFDC households in 1969 revealed that over 80 percent had some combination of pre-school and school age (under 16) children for whom care would probably be required.

Providing this child care will be costly. HEW currently estimates that "acceptable" group day care for three to five year olds costs $1,860 on a year round basis. After school and summer care, for children from six to thirteen, costs an estimated $650 per year. These standards of acceptability and estimates of costs may be high -- certainly, in many cases, cheaper arrangements can be made with relatives or friends -- but the price tag will still be substantial. But the figures do highlight the curious anomaly that in many states the mother receives less money to care for her own children than the states are prepared to pay for other caretakers for them to enable the mother to work.

Even if day care were adequate and training intensive, the effectiveness of WIN would depend on the availability of jobs. And, so far, the performance of WIN has left doubts about the employability of participants and their prospects for self-support.

Of the 167,000 who had been enrolled in WIN through April 30, 1970, only 25,000 had moved into jobs, with only 10,000 receiving pay adequate to leave relief altogether. These, however, were probably the easiest to place among the clientele, since the early enrollees were very definitely "creamed". Although AFDC-UP cases make up only 5 percent of the AFDC population, they constituted 40 percent of the WIN participants in fiscal 1969; and many of these would have found jobs without assistance. After this more employable group was processed, placements became more difficult. There were 53,000 dropouts through fiscal 1970. Many of the 16 percent who refused to continue were simply dismayed by the lack of prospects and left.

Beyond the questionable efficacy of WIN training and services, an effective program cannot be isolated from the local labor market conditions in which it operates unless a large emphasis is placed on relocating families to where jobs are in abundant supply. Camden's less than robust economy illustrates these difficulties. In addition to the concentration of unemployment and loss of economic vitality characteristic of most central cities, the recent economic downturn has increased unemployment to the disadvantage of WIN graduates in the labor market.

In 1970, the unemployment rate for females in the city of Camden was 7.4 percent. Moreover, the unemployment rate was about twice as high in the city as in the suburban areas. Finally, there has been an absolute decrease in the city of Camden in all job sectors except small services and amusements. The largest drop in absolute terms in the city has been in manufacturing, while the largest proportional drop has been in contract construction.

In the portion of the Camden Labor Area outside the city of Camden, the increase in manufacturing employment has just about balanced out the drop in the city. This trend is typical throughout the United States as many manufacturing jobs move from inner cities like Camden into suburban industrial parks. Nor is the situation in Camden County atypical in that the transportation network has not kept pace with the development of back areas of suburban areas. Many industrial parks are out of the reach of existing public transportation. The bulk of the WIN trainees are unable to acquire and maintain dependable private transportation.

While short run economic performance may soon improve, the longer term trends of urban development operate against those welfare recipients who are trying to become self-supporting

Recognizing this problem, an expanded public employment program was proposed, along with employer subsidies for hiring WIN enrollees. It was claimed that such measures were necessary to put welfare recipients to work. However, these would add substantially to the cost of WIN. Private employer subsidies under the JOBS program cost around $3,000 per slot, and the price could be slightly higher for the more disadvantaged WIN enrollees. Despite these subsidies, wages are likely to be low. For instance, half of contract JOBS hirees earned less than $2.00 per hour, and four-fifths less than $2.50. Since full year employment is the exception rather than the rule, this is hardly enough to support the average-sized welfare family. Given the high probable cost of subsidies and low return in wages, it is pertinent to ask whether the effort is justified.

The argument that training is a one-shot proposition and that AFDC mothers will continue to work long after their children no longer need attention carries little weight because most studies reveal that women do work anyway when their children are old enough, that AFDC would be cut off at any rate when the youngest child reached 18, that the jobs for which they are trained are hardly lifetime positions and that future child bearing is very likely to interrupt work experience.

This is not to deny that there are many who can be helped by WIN and for whom it will be a most effective measure. The problem lies in determining now many, and who in particular, can benefit from participation in WIN to such a degree that it will justify costs. A variety of techniques have been used to calculate the universe of need and the prospects of success.

There is general agreement that a minority of welfare recipients will ever be able to get off relief through employment. For a four person female-headed family, hourly earnings of $2.25 or more on a full time basis would be needed to remove recipients from AFDC rolls in 30 states. In only nine states could the family head earn less than $2.00 per hour and become completely self-supporting. In New Jersey, it takes hourly earnings of $3.18 to remove a family of four from relief and this amount was exceeded by only two other states. The anticipation that many will earn their way off relief is overly optimistic. Leonard Hausman (U. S. Department of Labor, 1969) has estimated that no more than one-thid of AFDC mothers and two-thirds of AFDC-UP fathers could, in the mid-60's, have earned as much as they received from welfare.

The contrast is dramatic between the broad range of benefits available to a welfare mother with three children and her potential earnings in the market-place. Consider the case of New York City, where, in August, 1970, the maximum AFDC payment level for a family of four persons headed by a female was $3,756 a year, an amount roughly equivalent to the poverty line for such a family. Table II-5 sets out the benefits potentially available to such a family. If the family was able to double its earnings from say $3000 to $6000 per year, after account is taken of the marginal tax on the AFDC grant, federal, state and Social Security taxes, and the value of food stamps, we find that the family has been able to increase its net cash position by only $272 per year. Thus, if it were able to double its earnings, it would be economically only marginally better off. One in every four full time workers in New York City earned less than $5200 a year. Thus to achieve such an earnings level, the WIN program would have to be successful in enabling family heads to exceed the present earnings level of more than one quarter of the fully employed population. Yet, even if it were able to achieve this daunting task, it still could not substantially improve the net economic position of these families, and they would still remain on welfare, receiving a modest benefit of about $47 a year. But, if these families should improve their earnings beyond the $6000 level, so they no longer require a welfare supplement, they would then lose their entitlement to medical vendor payments, which have an estimated value of $1,153 and to food stamp value at about $288 a year. Thus, public policy seems to be locked into a curious position. If training is successful in enabling families to double their earnings, their net economic well-being is only marginally increased, and they remain on welfare although receiving only a modest annual cash grant. But, if they further improve their earning, they lose entitlement to Medicaid and food stamps.

If we turn from this hypothetical example to the actual earnings during 1969 of a sample of early (and most employable) WIN graduates, we find that they averaged $2.30 per hour. Fully two-fifths were employed in clerical, sales, and service occupations -- traditionally low skilled and low paying. Even more ominous are the results of another survey showing that at the end of 1969, female WIN graduates earned substantially less than males. One-fifth of the males earned less than $2.00 per hour and one-half earned

TABLE II-5

BENEFITS POTENTIALLY AVAILABLE TO 4-PERSON FEMALE-HEADED FAMILIES IN NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK ACCORDING TO CURRENT AFDC LAW

(in dollars)

BENEFITS POTENTIALLY AVAILABLE TO 92% OF CURRENT AFDC RECIPIENTS

Earnings	AFDC*	Total Gross Cash Income	Total Federal, State & Social Security Taxes	Net Cash Income	Current Schedule Food Stamp Bonus**	Total Net Cash and Food
0	3,576	3,576	---	3,576	360	3,936
720	3,576	4,296	35	4,261	312	4,573
1,000	3,382	4,382	48	4,334	228	4,622
2,000	2,715	4,715	96	4,619	288	4,907
3,000	2,048	5,048	144	4,904	288	5,192
4,000	1,381	5,381	333	5,048	288	5,336
5,000	714	5,714	584	5,130	288	5,418
6,000	47	6,047	871	5,176	288	5,464
7,000	---	7,000	1,133	5,867	---	5,867
8,000	---	8,000	1,403	6,597	---	6,597
9,000	---	9,000	1,644	7,356	---	7,356

*The AFDC maximum payment level ($3,756) is adjusted here to $3,576 because public housing rent is less than the maximum AFDC rent allowance.

**Independently of Family Assistance, New York will institute a food stamp program. Therefore, the current schedule food stamp bonus is shown here rather than the commodity value.

TABLE II-5 (cont.)

BENEFITS POTENTIALLY AVAILABLE TO 8% OF CURRENT AFDC RECIPIENTS			Average Vendor Payments to Health Services For AFDC Families ***
Earnings	Current Public Housing Bonus	Total Net Cash Food and Public Housing	
0	420	4,356	1,153
720	420	4,993	1,153
1,000	420	5,042	1,153
2,000	420	5,327	1,153
3,000	420	5,612	1,153
4,000	420	5,756	1,153
5,000	420	5,838	1,153
6,000	420	5,884	1,153
7,000	720	6,587	---
8,000	720	7,317	---
9,000		7,356	---

***Medical vendor payments do not represent cash income available to families and should not be counted as part of total family income. Such payments are made on behalf of families with medical needs only.

$2.50 or more; whereas one-half of the females earned less than $2.00 and only one-sixth earned $2.50 or more. As the few AFDC-UP men complete WIN and women comprise an increasing proportion of trainees, average earnings can be expected to decline accordingly. These trends make it appear unlikely that WIN will prove to be a major instrument for reducing AFDC rolls.

Against this pessimistic backdrop, we turn to the WIN program in Camden. The following chapter describes the Camden setting, the organization of welfare and manpower services and of the WIN program in particular. The succeeding chapter will trace the actual experience of welfare mothers, some of whom participated in the program.

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CHAPTER III

THE CAMDEN SCENE–1970

Poverty and manpower programs are fashioned by political actors in Washington. They respond to a social problem as interpreted by their nationwide constituencies of voters, legislators and government departments. Legislation sets ground rules for the organization and implementation of a program. The style of implementation is affected by the chain of federal, state and local officials charged with responsibility as well as by the contemporary social and cultural conditions of each community. Our study, which focuses on the interface of clients and local agency, can be better understood by viewing it as action on the wider stage in which it takes place. This chapter sets the stage. It begins with an historical economic and demographic note about Camden leading to an outline of the formal local governmental structure in which the program is implemented. The rules governing eligibility and training are the most pertinent part of the legislation for this study. The federal department charged with operating responsibility, here the Manpower Administration of the Department of Labor, prepares guidelines interpreting the legislation for application to day-to-day decisions. These guidelines are further interpreted on the state and local levels to coordinate them with local administrative custom and to adjust them to local poverty and manpower situations. The program is not socially disembodied but meshes with the general social and cultural climate of the community. The final section of this chapter uses local press reportage to develop an image of some attitudes in the community formed around the program.

An Historical Note on Camden City

Economic Development

A Dutch expedition under the command of David Peterson De Vries sailed up the Delaware in 1631 bringing the first Europeans to what is now Camden-Philadelphia. They reported Indian villages between Cooper River and Newton Creek, a report verified seven or eight years later by Swedish explorers. The earliest European settlers--William Cooper and Richard Arnold--arrived half a century later--in 1681.

These earliest settlers in the Camden Region, as in the Philadelphia of William Penn, were English Quakers. As recounted in the paper by the Camden County Planning Board*:

> "They farmed and fished, and in order to maintain their religious life, a joint congregation of the settlers on both sides of the river was established. Services and meetings were held alternately in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and a canoe ferry system, following the Old Indian course, was instituted. This was the predecessor of the ferrying business--the first industrial enterprise in the Camden Region.
>
> "From these earliest times Camden County has been the transportation center for the whole of South Jersey, then known as "West Jersey." The demand for communication and transportation facilities across the Delaware River was a natural outgrowth of the influx of settlers to the lower part of South Jersey. Many of the newer arrivals had friends and relatives in New Jersey and also in Philadelphia, and everyone had business dealings in that city.
>
> "...As a trans-shipment or break of bulk point, Camden was the scene of much activity Wagon loads of farm produce from the rich agricultural lands of South Jersey were unloaded, stored, and then reloaded on ferries for shipment to the Philadelphia market places. Soon, ferry rights were considered an adjunct to the profitable hotels which were located at the river bank. Between the ferry slip and the hotel were large stables and sheds for the accommodation of the farmers' livestock and produce. Near the ferry there was a plot of ground with shade trees set aside as a kind of amusement park where passengers could wait for the ferry.
>
> "During the 1700's, agriculture, fishing, and ferrying remained the important industries in Camden County, but by the time of the Revoluntionary War, there were additional industries which flourished. Numerous forges and furnaces were in operation using a local resource, "bog iron ore," which, when mixed in the furnaces with mountain ore, produced good castings and forging. Shipbuilding was a growing industry all along the river front. Sawmills, gristmills and fulling mills were setting up in all parts of the County.
>
> "...As Camden County entered the era of its greatest industrial growth, four-fifths of the District was still covered by forest. Hill's "map of ten miles around Philadelphia" published in 1809, showed all the territory between Broadway and Cooper's Creek and Federal and Line Street as a pine forest, and an oak forest covered the ground between Market and Main and Sixth and Eighth Streets.

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*"Report on the Economic Base of the Camden Urban Region." Prepared by Camden County Planning Board, Camden, New Jersey, March 1963.

> "...The establishment of the iron furnaces and foundries and glass factories first gave additional value to the woodland. It was imperative for the glass factory to be located in a heavily wooded district since the amount of fuel burned was large and had to be close at hand. Another important ingredient was an ample supply of good quality sand. Glass-making became one of the largest industries in Camden County and there were factories located throughout the region. Almost 30 percent of the glass factories in the state were situated here in 1834, and just after the Civil War a quarter of the furnaces for glass manufacturing in the State were found in the region."

Camden was already famous for iron products, leather flint glass and oil cloth in the second half of the nineteenth century. Shipbuilding industry was also started during this period; the Esterbrook Steel Pen Company was founded in 1858; the Campbell Soup Company opened in 1867; the Van Sciver Company developed a furniture industry and in 1894 the Victor Talking Machine Company was established. Industrial output rose from $1,514,055 in 1850 to $20,451,874 in 1900. Camden's manufacturing output increased rapidly in the first decades of the twentieth century. The Victor Talking Machine Company emerged as the giant RCA Victor Corporation while the Campbell Soup Company and the New York Ship Building Company expanded to become leading manufacturers of their products in the United States. Abundant water resources, the port of Camden and Camden labor market has facilitated this industrial development. In 1929, the Department of Commerce placed the value of products manufactured in the city at $231,135,097.

Demographic Change

Population growth figures parallel those for economic growth. In 1840, the population of Camden City, the core of Camden County, was 3,371. By 1870, it had increased to 20,045 and, then, within the next decade, nearly doubled. The census of 1880 recorded a population of 41,659. Camden's population growth continued but at a declining rate between 1880 and 1930. As shown in the accompanying table, there was little change between 1920 and 1940, a slight growth to a peak of 124,555 reported in 1950. The 1960 figures show the beginning of decline with the loss of over 7000 inhabitants. The latest 1970 figures report a population of 102,551 bringing Camden back to its turn of the century population level. At the same time, adjoining municipalities developed. Between 1950 and 1960, the population of nearby Cherry Hill Township increased by 204 percent and Gloucester Township grew by 121 percent.

The racial composition of the population of Camden shifted during this period. The non-white population steadily increased during these years, while, until 1950, the number of whites remained relatively stable. After 1950, however, the white population of Camden City dropped precipitously so that the 1960 census showed that every fourth citizen of Camden was non-white.

When the 1970 census tabulations are published, it is estimated that they will show that in Camden County today, two out of five are non-white. Table III-1 shows the changing racial composition of the population of Camden City.

TABLE III-1

POPULATION OF CAMDEN CITY, NEW JERSEY
BY RACE 1920-1960

YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	WHITE		NON-WHITE	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1920	116,309	107,753	92.64	8,556	7.36
1930	118,700	107,283	90.38	11,340	9.55
1940	117,536	104,995	89.33	12,541	10.67
1950	124,555	106,972	85.88	17,583	14.12
1960	117,159	89,283	76.30	27,876	23.70

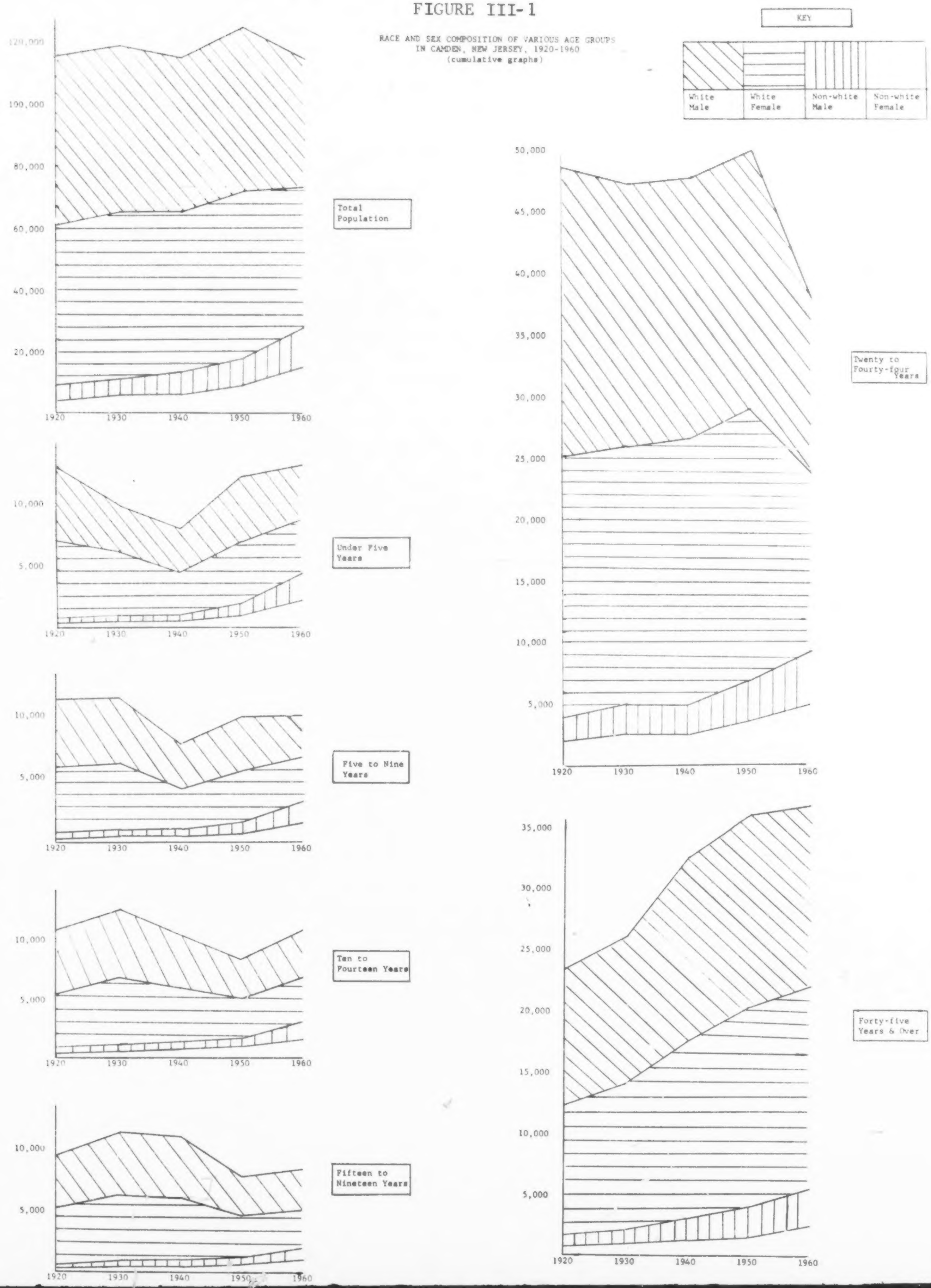
Source: U.S. Dept. of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Census of the Population 1840-1960.

In both the white and non-white populations, the sex composition shifted during these years from a slight excess of males to a slight then a marked excess of females. Among whites, the sex ratio in 1920 was 104. By 1960 it dropped to 96. Among non-whites, the decrease was from 105 in 1920 to 91 in 1960. This change was not evenly distributed across age groups. There was little discrepancy in the population of either sex in both racial groups below the age of 20. In 1960, however, the sex ratio for whites aged 20-44 was 91 while for non-whites it was 83. In 1970, the sex ratio for blacks aged 25-44 hit the startling figure of 73. Figure III-1 displays the changing race and sex composition of various age groups between 1920 and 1960.

The unusual sex ratio in the young adult non-white population suggests underenumeration of non-white, especially black, males. If there is a censal undercount of black males, why would the sex ratio have declined among whites--though not to the same degree? The excess of females is not entirely explainable in this way. Why would it not have become noticeable in the non-white population until the census of 1940? The low sex ratio is consistent with another censal finding--a large number of female-headed households. In 1970, over a third of all black households in Camden City, 3312 to be exact, were female-headed. The proportion would be higher still in the low income groups.

FIGURE III-1

RACE AND SEX COMPOSITION OF VARIOUS AGE GROUPS
IN CAMDEN, NEW JERSEY, 1920-1960
(cumulative graphs)



A continuing preponderance of females is not only a condition for matrifocality but also is a condition for careerism among women as an alternative to marriage or as a stopgap before or between marriages. Polygyny as a family form becomes more likely. The polygynous adaptation, while not formally institutionalized, is a relatively frequent one in the impoverished population of this study. Males reside successively with more than one family and may father children to more than one woman. Alternatively, he may maintain his own residence while visiting one or more such matrifocal units. In the absence of the extended family, which might harbor these mother-child units, the outcome is the matrifocal household as a residential unit. The divorce and remarriage pattern in the middle and upper classes differs principally in that legal or sacramental rituals accompany the status changes. Also, the relationships are, on the average, of longer duration in the middle and upper classes.

The matrifocal household is at a disadvantage in competing for economic resources, almost condemned to be a low income household. Reasons for this will be discussed in later chapters. Public and private programs have been launched to meet this situation. Some are welfare programs designed to support these families by direct financial payments and, perhaps, by providing ancillary social, medical and educational services. Other programs are designed to upgrade the earning ability of women and, perhaps, children to enable them to attain economic independence. In Camden County in 1970, a number of such programs were operating. The Camden County Council on Economic Opportunity provided legal and day care services to mothers; the Camden City schools offered literacy training; the Work Incentive Program operating through the New Jersey State Employment Service, the Camden Youth Opportunities Center and the privately organized Opportunities Industrialization Centers offered job training. The New Jersey Rehabilitation Commission trained the handicapped. The Federal Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training was another source of work training. The Camden Manpower On-the-Job Training and private industrial programs such as that of the RCA Service Company offered specialized training for television service. The New Jersey Restaurant Association trained workers in food service, and labor unions, such as the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners offered training in cooperation with the OJT and the MDTA through the Camden Manpower Development Training Agency Skill Center.

The WIN program in Camden, one of this multitude of welfare and work training programs, attends especially to the parents of the children receiving assistance under the Aid for Dependent Children program. The number of individuals receiving AFDC in Camden County, as in the nation, has risen steeply in recent years. A total of 4818 active cases at the end of July 1969 increased to 6540 by the end of January 1970 and to 7815 by the end of July 1970. Table III-2 shows the numbers of AFDC cases and expenditures on them in July 1969 and six months later in January 1970.

TABLE III-2

NUMBER OF CASES AND COST OF AID FOR DEPENDENT CHILDREN IN CAMDEN COUNTY, NEW JERSEY 1969-70

	JULY 1969	JANUARY 1970
Number of Cases	4,818	6,540
Number of Persons	21,053	27,472
Total Expenditure (assistance)	$1,311,277	$1,596,424
Average Expenditure (per case)	$272.16	$247.47
Average Expenditure (per person)	$62.28	$58.11

The number of cases increased by 36 percent in the six month period. The ratio of cases closed to new cases opened provides insight into the components of this growth. In July 1969, 152 cases were closed and 286 new cases approved, thus increasing the caseload by 134. In January 1970, 138 were closed and 361 approved, thus increasing the load by 223.

Of the 6540 cases in January 1970, 85 percent were cases in which no competent father was in the home, 11 percent were cases in which earnings were below poverty level and 4 percent were cases in which a father was present but unemployed. Local and state government cover the entire cost of the program in those cases in which family income is insufficient. In the other 89 percent of the cases, most of the burden falls on the federal treasury. The total expenditure figures for direct assistance exclude "vendor" payments such as those for medical treatment or provision of a prothesis.

The WIN program in Camden has had some two hundred training slots available to it during the 1969-70 period of this study. Figure III-2 shows the change during and after the study period in total WIN enrollment (assignees whether or not they are participating in training) and the total of WIN participants in Camden County, the State of New Jersey and the United States. The three scales in the left margin are adjusted so that all three curves coincide in the representation of their levels in May 1969. Thus, the subsequent divergence of the curves offers an impression of the relative directions of change for each of the areas. Before examining the WIN program further, the next section sketches the formal state and local governmental structure through which it is implemented.

The Formal Governmental Structure*

The Administrative Locus

Camden County is a second class county in New Jersey, one with a population between 220,000 and 600,000. The county comprises eight townships and 27 boroughs in addition to Camden City. Camden City, while less than a tenth of the county's area, has 30 percent of its population. Nearly all of the non-white population of Camden County is located within the city limits and nearly all (see Map IV-1 in Chapter IV) Camden County welfare recipients reside in Camden City.

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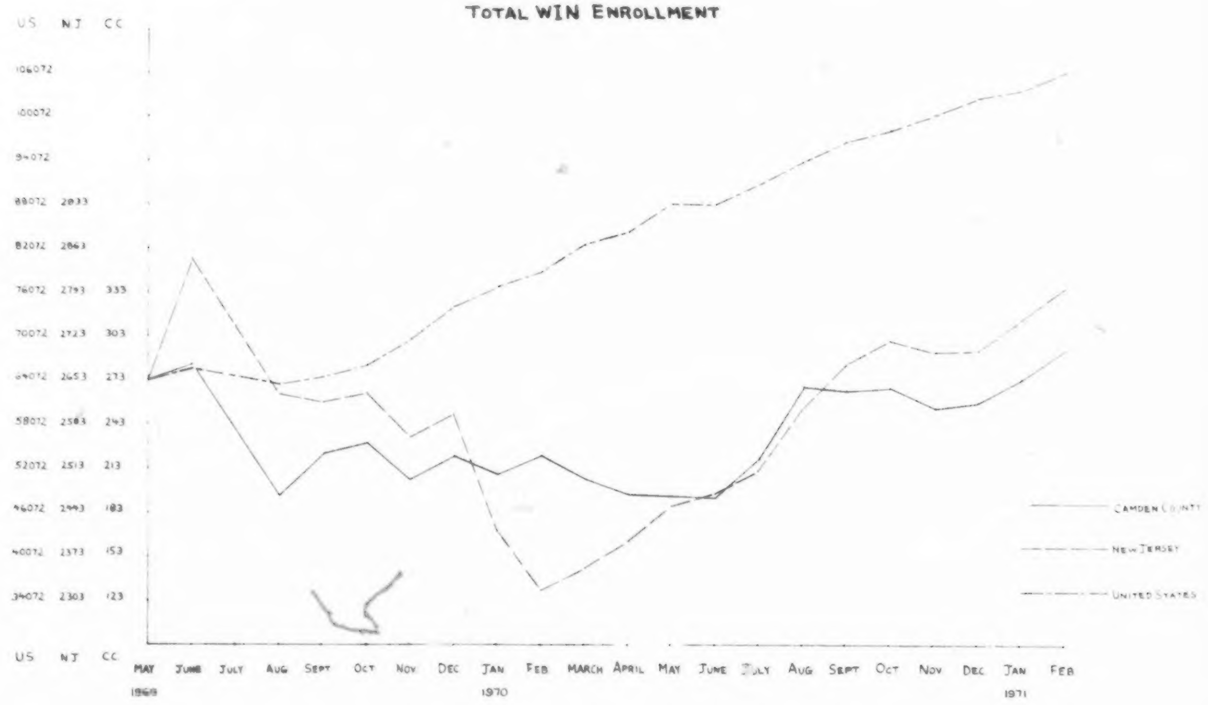
*This section draws heavily on a memorandum prepared by David P. Varady.

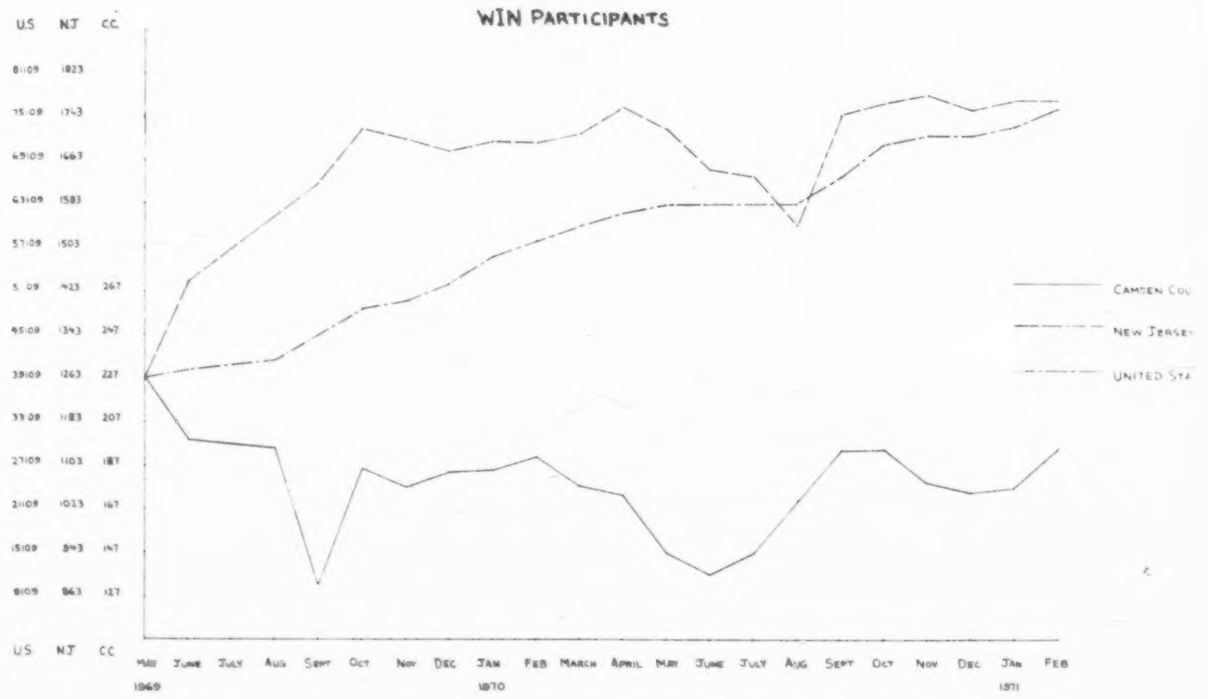
FIGURE III - 2

TOTAL WIN ENROLLMENT AND NUMBER OF WIN PARTICIPANTS IN CAMDEN COUNTY AND NEW JERSEY AND THE UNITED STATES FROM MAY 1969 TO FEBRUARY 1971

TOTAL WIN ENROLLMENT



WIN PARTICIPANTS



A brief note on the governmental system of Camden County will be followed by a sketch of the functional division between Camden County government and the City of Camden with respect to the program and the organizational structure of the Camden County Welfare Board and the local office of the Department of Employment Security. The chain of responsibility and the arrangements for monitoring performance in each of these agencies will provide a background for a later discussion on programmatic adaptations which occur at the various levels.

The County government is headed by a seven-member Board of Chosen Freeholders, a semi-legislative body with executive responsibilities involving power to regulate finance and certain other internal affairs of the County. Freeholders are elected on an at-large basis from the County as a whole for three-year terms. Each January 1, one of the freeholders is selected as director. For several years, all members of the County Board have been Republicans.

Each freeholder heads a particular committee of the County government, the assignments rotating each year. The County Welfare Board falls under the jurisdiction of the Committee on Health, Education and Welfare. In fiscal year 1970, 3.4 million dollars of a total Camden County budget of 29 million dollars was allocated to the Camden County Welfare Board.

The City of Camden has a Mayor and Council system of government. The City Council, the chief legislative body, consists of seven members elected for four year terms on an at-large basis. At present, five members of the City Council are Democrats and two are Republicans. Two of the councilmen are black.

The mayor is the chief executive and administrative officer of the city. His official obligations are to enforce the provisions of the City Charter, supervise the operating departments, submit recommendations to the City Council, supervise the Office of Planning and Renewal, supervise preparation and submission of the budget and report yearly to the Council on all of these activities. The current mayor is a Democrat of Italian extraction.

Social welfare activities are the responsibility of the Department of Health, Recreation and Welfare, one of six departments of the City Government. According to the City Charter (11:5), the function of the Division of Welfare is to "administer state laws relating to relief of the needy...provide for shelter...enter into cooperative agreements with voluntary agencies...provide related social services...(and) certify the medically indigent." The County Welfare Board is responsible for Categorical Assistance, that is, assistance provided to specific groups in the population (the aged, the permanently disabled, the blind, families with dependent children) with monies obtained from specific federal programs. The Camden City Division of Welfare, like that of other township and borough Boards, is responsible for general assistance, that is, aid for those who do not qualify for any of the existing categorical programs (e.g., single adults).

The fiscal 1970 budget for the city of Camden totalled 15.5 million dollars, about one half of that of the County budget. Of this total, approximately $160,000 was allocated to welfare activities.

Employment Security and Public Welfare: The Chain of Responsibility

The WIN administration on the federal level is the responsibility of the Manpower Administration in the Department of Labor. The Department of Labor works closely with offices of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare since this program involves health and social services as well as manpower training responsibilities. The welfare and training activities are retained in separate departments on the state level and at all lower levels. The implementation of the program at the local level thus requires coordination of two lines of responsibility.

The New Jersey WIN program is jointly administered by the Department of Labor and Industry through its Division of Public Welfare. In Camden County, the WIN program is administered by county level cognate agencies, the Camden office of the New Jersey Department of Employment Security and the Camden County Welfare Board respectively. Looking up the chain of responsibility, the County office of the Department of Employment Security reports to the State Office of Manpower and ultimately to the Commissioner of Labor and Industry, and the Camden County Welfare Board reports at the state level to the Commissioner of Institutions and Agencies. The chains of responsibility are represented diagrammatically in Figure III-3.

The formal chain of responsibility of the WIN unit in DES begins with a pre-employment counselor, a team counselor, a job developer, two community workers and a clerk and is headed by an employment service supervisor. The employment service supervisor is responsible for other job training and job placement activities in the Camden area. The District Supervisor for Southern New Jersey is responsible for all field operations in that area (unemployment insurance, job placement, training programs). Each of the District Supervisors in New Jersey is responsible to the Superintendent of Field Operations of the New Jersey Employment Service. The Superintendent of Staff Operations, operating at the same level, is responsible for drawing up regulations for the administration of specific programs. The Director of the Office of Manpower is responsible to the Commissioner of Labor and Industry for all the job training and related programs in the state.

The reporting and monitoring system does not follow this chain of responsibility precisely. The Camden office of the Department of Employment Security sends records to the Trenton office of DES, which in turn, compiles the records for forwarding to the Department of Labor in Washington. There, records of the national program are maintained and reports issued (1).

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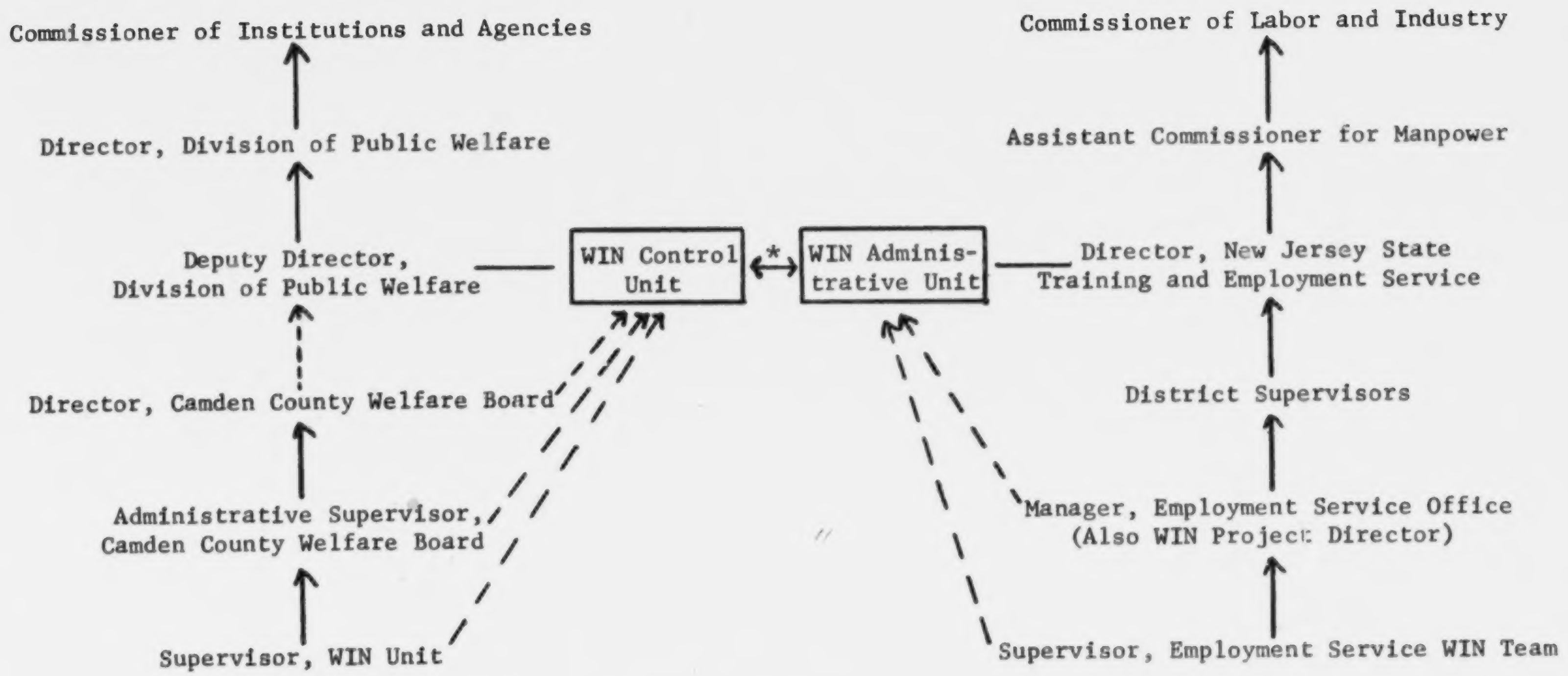
[1] A potential enrollee in any DES program completes a preliminary registration form (NJES-511). This form is sent directly to the U.S.

FIGURE III-3

CHAINS OF RESPONSIBILITY OF THE MANPOWER AND WELFARE COMPONENTS OF THE WIN PROGRAM IN CAMDEN, N.J.


Commissioner of Institutions and Agencies
Director, Division of Public Welfare
Deputy Director, Division of Public Welfare
Director, Camden County Welfare Board
Administrative Supervisor, Camden County Welfare Board
Supervisor, WIN Unit
WIN Control Unit
*
WIN Administrative Unit
Commissioner of Labor and Industry
Assistant Commissioner for Manpower
Director, New Jersey State Training and Employment Service
District Supervisors
Manager, Employment Service Office (Also WIN Project Director)
Supervisor, Employment Service WIN Team

*State WIN Working Group; also includes representatives of sub-contracted agencies: Bureau of Children's Services, Rehabilitation Commission, Department of Education's Division of Adult Education and Division of Vocational Education. Function is to plan, coordinate and supervise WIN Projects.

The formal chain of responsibility for the welfare component of the WIN program is a bit shorter. The supervisor of the WIN unit in Camden County Welfare Board reports to one of the supervisors of the Welfare Board who, in turn, is responsible to the Director and Deputy Director of the Welfare Board. The State Coordinator-Work Experience and Training Programs is responsible for all of the WIN programs in New Jersey. He is, in turn, responsible to the Director of the State Division of Public Welfare and, in turn, the Commissioner of Institutions and Agencies.

The Operationalization of WIN Legislation

Federal Guidelines

Chapter IV will draw inferences about the way this administrative apparatus selects AFDC recipients for WIN training. The selection process results from an interaction between a formal set of regulations and norms developed in the client-counselor relation. A glance at the written regulations with which decisions begin reveals the extent of adaptation through the practical norms. The regulations, as a whole, concern broad administrative issues, selection of localities eligible to participate, financial arrangements between federal and state authorities and rules regarding eligibility of clients, payments to them and work training for them. Some excerpts from federal and state regulations on eligibility and a vignette of the training will be illustrative.

The basic guidelines are set down in the 1967 Amendments to Title IV of the Social Security Act. The language of the legislation is translated into a series of operational guidelines in the Manual of the Bureau of Work Training (1968). Following is an excerpt from section 4, paragraph 405 of this manual.

Bureau of Labor Statistics. Subsequently, while participating in the DES program, the individual fills out U.S. Department of Labor forms MA101 (which deals with background characteristics of the individual), MA113 (status change notice) and MA104 (termination record). These three records are sent to the Trenton office of the DES accompanied by a report of man hours per month of all employees of Camden DES. This data is compiled into a form 210 and analysis of the month's work is compiled in Trenton and sent to Washington.

Participants in the WIN program also complete form NJES WIN 004 providing data on participation in the WIN program and form NJES WIN 251 through which information is obtained on individual personality traits.

As of August 1, 1970, pre-enrollment form (R-1) was instituted to obtain data from individuals on attitudes toward the interviewer and the results of the interview. Another form (R-2) has been added to determine the situation of the individual after he leaves the program.

"405 Enrollee Eligibility. While the responsibility for determining enrollee eligibility rests with the State welfare agency, the legal eligibility criteria are presented below for informational purposes.

A. Eligible Persons. The SSA provides that State welfare agencies shall refer the following persons to a WIN program (unless they are included under the provisions of B. below):

1. each appropriate child and relative who is age 16 or over and is receiving AFDC or AFDC-UF,

2. each appropriate person age 16 or over (living in the same home as a relative and child receiving AFDC or AFDC-UF) whose needs are taken into account in determining the amount of the welfare payment, and

3. any other person claiming AFDC who requests referral to the program (unless the welfare agency determines that his participation would be inimical to his or his family's welfare).

B. Ineligible Persons. The SSA provides that the following welfare recipients shall not be referred to a WIN program:

1. a person with illness, incapacity, or advanced age.

2. a person who lives so far from any WIN project that he cannot effectively participate under any part (where necessary, arrangements can be made for a person to participate in a project in another county or another state);

3. a child attending school full time; or

4. a person whose presence in the home on a substantially continuous basis is required because of the illness or incapacity of another member of the household.

C. Special Requirement for Unemployed Fathers. The welfare agency will refer all unemployed fathers receiving AFDC-UF to a WIN program where one exists within 30 days after the first welfare payment, unless the father is too remote from a project to participate effectively."

State Guidelines

As the Department of Institutions and Agencies of the State of New Jersey prepared to launch its WIN program, a circular letter (No. 579 to county welfare Directors offered initial guidance. The letter was dated January, 1969, six months after the date on the BWTP manual.

> "We are all cognizant of the fact that a function of public welfare agencies is to assist AFDC mothers to arrive at sound family decisions in respect to employment or training for employment, for care of children and to make appropriate plans to carry out those decisions.
>
> In order to provide guidance to appropriate members of your staff in assessing availability of AFDC mothers for referral to work or training under the Work Incentive Program or under other ongoing Manpower programs, we are attaching material which has been extracted from a letter, dated May 20, 1966, by the then U.S. Commissioner of Welfare."

The attachment, the text of which follows, offers suggestions in the form of a series of questions for helping mothers "make sound decisions for themselves and their children about the appropriateness of immediate employment or training or plans for training and/or employment at a later and more appropriate time."

> "The following guides are intended to assist public welfare agencies in carrying out their responsibility for helping mothers to decide on the feasibility of entering into training or employment activities. The guides relate to factors that are essential in assessing the appropriateness of current work and the immediate and longer range employment potentials of mothers and in helping them to make sound decisions as to immediate and future plans:
>
> A. What are the interests. concerns and motivations of the mother in respect to immediate or future preparation for employment or to current employment, and in respect to the needs of her children for her care and guidance? Is the mother's assessment of her employment interest and capacities sound? Are the needs of her children viewed realistically?
>
> B. Do the ages, health or other special needs of the children require the mother to be at home all or part of the time? What are the attitudes of the children toward their mother working? Can the older children be involved with the mother in making a family plan?

C. Are the health conditions and physical stamina of the mother adequate for the multiple burdens of employment, home management and child care? Are there older children or relatives in the home who can assume some of the home management responsibilities?

D. Are there responsibilities for other family members that require the mother's care, e.g. incapacitated husband, ill mother or father?

E. What are the educational attainment and capacities of the mother? Previous work experiences, interest in and capacities for preparation for employment? Does she have employment skills that are currently marketable? If not, what education, training or other services are necessary to achieve an appropriate employment goal?

F. Is her current or prospective employment suitable as to the nature and hours of work; travel time; fair remuneration and meaningful net return for the family after work expenses; and personal satisfactions or chances for improvement or advance? Does or would the prospective employment permit the mother to have adequate time to maintain home life and emotional ties with her children?

G. Are there plans for substitute care of all of the children that are adequare for their physical care and safety and their social protection? Are these plans dependable?"

Not many months later, the Manual of Administration of the New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies spelled out a purpose and procedures. The following is excerpted from the Manual (Section 2280).

> "Statement of Purpose of the Program
>
> To live in a family to which he belongs is the foundation of a child's security. A parent should not be forced to surrender responsibility for rearing a child merely because of inability to provide financially for the child's needs.
>
> Recognizing the fundamental need of the child for care, guidance, and affection from his own family, ADC is directed toward enabling the parent or, in his absence, a close relative, to ensure continuity of family relationships in a setting in which the child naturally belongs...

> Adequate health care for both parents and children is an essential factor in attaining the objectives of ADC. Since illness frequently precipitates or aggravates financial and other family problems, an opportunity to obtain consistent medical care may enable a family to regain economic independence. Care of an incapacitated parent at home may avert separation of the members at a time when the child most needs the feeling of family solidarity and the security of the familiar home environment.
>
> Children receiving ADC have the right to share the opportunities provided in their communities for education, physical and social development in the same way as children who do not receive ADC..."

Eligibility for AFDC on the grounds of economic need was relatively easy to establish. The community worker was guided in judging non-economic factors which might affect eligibility. Dependency is defined in terms of the age of eligible children, ordinarily under 18, but may be extended to 21 if the child is a student in a secondary school or vocational training. The worker is to interpret "dependent child" to mean one who is "deprived of parental support or care by reason of death, continued absence from the home, physical or mental incapacity of a parent, or, when living with both parents, has been deprived of parental support or care by reason of the unemployment of his father or the insufficient earnings of his parents." Each of the elements of the interpretation require further elaboration. It is through selection of background documents and explication of meanings that regulations are adapted to local exigencies.

The law requires that there be both "need" and "deprivation of parental support" and that the deprivation must be the result of parental death, absence or unemployment. The worker is instructed in how to document death by certificate, will or newspaper obituary notice. If the parent is absent, the worker should make every effort to communicate with him to develop plans for the family. Parents imprisoned or deported shall be considered "absent." When the natural parents of a child are not married to each other and one of them is not in the home and there is no evidence of a continuing relationship, the situation meets the requirement of "continuous absence from the home" and the child becomes eligible for aid. A child of a parent serving in the Armed Forces may become eligible because of insufficient earnings. "Unemployment" is defined as being employed less than forty hours a week and actively seeking full employment. The parent would not continue to qualify as unemployed if, without good cause, he or she refused a bona fide offer of employment or training for employment.

The basic statute refers to needy dependent children "under standards and conditions compatible with decency and health, to help maintain and strengthen family life." In judging the quality of family life, the caseworker would consider, as evidence of bad quality, physical abuse or other cruel treatment or exploitation of the child by having him sell illegal products. A parent responsible for the prostitution of the child or who neglects the child without proper food or clothing "as shown by apparent malnutrition and ragged or dirty clothing" would be guilty of providing a poor quality family life. Action may be taken against the parent and in protection of the child under these conditions.

A mother, head of family, is encouraged to accept employment. However, this must be compatible with other aspects of family welfare. The "Manual of Administration" of the State Division of Public Welfare provides the following guide on "Employment for Mother" (Part II, Sec. 2286).

> "Employment for Mother
>
> Since it is a basic principle to strengthen family life, a mother's first responsibility is the care and protection of her child and/or incapacitated husband. However, self-support, by all reasonable means, should at all times be actively encouraged. Consistent with this principle, total or partial self-support through employment of the mother may be encouraged provided such employment is not contra-indicated after careful evaluation of the following criteria:
>
> 1) The need for the mother's services at home depends upon the number, age and special needs of the children; incapacity of the father; the mother's acceptance of the home-making responsibility; and the availability of a mother-substitute to assure the adequate care and supervision of the children at home.
>
> 2) Her potential for employment depends upon her training and capacity for employment, the economic feasibility, the job availability, and her physical and emotional ability to assume the dual responsibility of mother and breadwinner.
>
> If, in the finding of the agency, the employment of the mother is not contra-indicated, she may be required to show that she is actively seeking employment, and may be required to accept employment when suitable employment opportunity can be identified as available to her. Under such circumstances, failure or refusal to seek employment or to accept available employment, shall be just cause to delete the needs of the mother from the grant, subject to executive approval."

Procedures in Camden County

The further adaptations of these guidelines as they are applied to specific cases are legion. The day-to-day practices in Camden County require that the caseworkers make most of these decisions. Currently, about 90 percent of the applications for AFDC in Camden County are approved. The waiting period for welfare in Camden County is about four hours. A client applying before eleven o'clock AM may receive a check that afternoon. Investigation of the client takes place after the initial check has been issued.

Caseworkers complete a budgetary form to assist them in determining financial eligibility for welfare. Those applying for AFDC are expected, ordinarily, not to have access to cash in bank accounts or bonds. They may own the house in which they live but would have to liquidate their car unless it were needed for an essential purpose. Other personal property does not, in general, have to be liquidated. The welfare office relies on the client's word regarding liquidation of resources. Once on welfare, the client may maintain a checking or savings account and is allowed to hold savings up to three times the monthly welfare grant.

The deficit (if any) between the family's "needs" and its income is computed. Needs are determined primarily in terms of the number of dependent children. The determination of earned income is the principal factor in computing family income. The family is allowed to omit the first $30 earned and one-third of the remaining earnings from the income computation. The earner may also omit mandatory payroll deductions. If needs are greater than income, the family is eligible for welfare and the Welfare Board provides 100 percent of the difference between needs and income.

In January 1970, the average payment for AFDC families, according to welfare department records, amounted to approximately $248. Currently, there is no ceiling on the amount of cash assistance a family may receive. In addition to cash assistance, AFDC recipients are automatically eligible for food stamps and Medicaid. The Camden County Welfare Board estimates that each of these has a value of $5-$6 per person per month. Children from AFDC families are entitled to free school lunches.

Aid is terminated for five main reasons. The client may no longer be eligible financially. Total needs may have decreased or total income increased. A refusal to register for work, to accept work, or to accept WIN training may be reason for termination of support. Where the parent violates the rules regarding work registration, an attempt is made to continue public aid to the children without the mediation of the parents. A client who accepted aid because of illness may no longer be incapacitated or the family status may change so that the family no longer has an eligible child. Voluntary withdrawal, often because the husband has returned, is not an uncommon cause of termination.

Once a person has been notified of termination from the AFDC program, the head of household is entitled to an informal office hearing. If not satisfied with the outcome, he or she is entitled to an official fair hearing conducted by an employee of the State Division of Public Welfare. The outcome of this hearing may be appealed to a court (2).

WIN Training: Report of a Participant-Observer*

Orientation may last some three weeks. The complete program in Camden is planned day-by-day. The first day of orientation is spent going over the location of the building, discovering where lunch is obtainable, and familiarization with the rules and regulations of WIN. A caseworker from the welfare office who serves as a link between welfare and the Department of Employment Security describes the WIN program to them. That afternoon, they begin discussion on the self. This is group counseling. Each learns to know the others. After being introduced, they begin working on the form "Who Am I?" used in training programs to help formulate their own plans based on realistic objectives. The objective, the counselor explains, is to encourage people to come out with their feelings and be articulate about their ideas and thoughts. She starts with questions like "What do I feel like when I am on welfare? and "What would I feel like having a job?" On the third day, a psychologist takes care of the group, and on the afternoon of the third day, she discusses the educational centers in Camden. Either that same day or the next, they visit the Learning Center and are introduced to the concept of tests. Several pre-tests are offered as orientation or practice for the Vocational Inventory Tests, the Kuder Preference Record and general aptitude tests.

The psychologist conducts the morning session of the second Monday. That afternoon they talk about sources of jobs, how people can apply for jobs, employer reactions, and how to "sell" yourself to people. The "developer" comes in at this point and talks about what a "job" is, how people can get jobs, what jobs mean to people who work. Tuesday, they tour the Camden County College and have lunch in its cafeteria. The psychologist again conducts the session on the second Wednesday morning. During the afternoon, they visit MDTA, a major work training setting in Camden and are shown a film on jobs in banks and in clerical settings. Next, they

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[2] For males especially, WIN is and has been compulsory. Those who fail to show up are referred to the welfare office which, in turn, tries to appoint a "protective payee," a person who will handle the welfare funds for this individual, do his shopping, pay his rent and handle all his money. In most cases, welfare officials cannot find anyone to fill this role. Payments are continued and penalties for non-participation are forgotten.

*This sub-section is adapted from an observation protocol prepared by Richard K. Schwartz.

review "do's and don'ts" for job seekers. This is followed by instructions on the preparation of personal data sheets. These are small wallet size cards containing information on past employment history, educational status, etc. Each enrollee then creates his own personal data sheet. They tour the Cooper Hospital, during which each enrollee has hearing and speech tests, and hear a lecture at the Hearing and Speech Center by a specialist who emphasizes the importance of proper speech and listening habits. On Friday of the second week, they learn how to complete a job application form. Enrollees are given weekend assignments.

Over the second weekend, they are asked to find information about three different kinds of jobs, using reference materials in the Employment Security offices and reference material in the public library, to which they were introduced during the previous week. On Monday of the third week, participants describe the three jobs to the group, providing information about job requirements, training involved, hourly wages, benefits and the settings of the jobs. At frequent intervals, they entertain "reflections," a period for their own reactions to what has gone on so far and especially their reactions to those in the group.

People with unrealistic aspirations, a person who is not very articulate, or one who is very fidgety and nervous and who wishes to be a secretary while not having the skills, may be told by other members of that group that this just isn't realistic or that she is not going to make it behaving the way she does.

On the third Monday, enrollees begin to set goals for themselves. Participants are asked to develop a five year plan, stating where they would like to be five years hence, as well as an alternative plan if, for some reason, they fail to realize their primary goal. Plans consider reactions of the family, problems of home management and expectations about training and the job experience. This kind of planning is followed by visits to the Opportunities Industrialization Center and other job and training settings.

Participants may obtain basic literacy skills following the orientation if they require it.

> "I (Richard K. Schwartz) visited a learning center. On the basement level is a well-furnished room with modern equipment. Rows of books are neatly stacked around, perhaps 200 or more learning machines of various types: otiscopes for development of reading, tape recorders for language learning and programmed readers. Most of the learning is programmed. About 70 students were in the school. They advance at their own speed. The teachers assume the traditional teaching role of a public elementary or high school teacher. The teacher visits students one at a time.

Most of the students were well dressed. Women were without much makeup but well groomed. Three-fourths of the students were black. Nearly all the others were Puerto Rican.

Initially, the activity seemed chaotic. I had no idea what was going on. I had expected to find a classroom type of situation. Instead, people wandered around, moving from a box of books here to a machine over there and doing things which, at first, did not seem constructive. Perhaps this is the result of dealing with so many materials and machines.

I entered a class. Seven women were seated around a large table. Three men sitting in the back seemed to be writing from programmed manuals. There was a kind of bantering. The teacher tried to get them to turn to their tasks and someone would indicate that he was restless or that he had to go somewhere else or do something else. Five different people must have occupied one seat near the door during the course of the 40 minutes that I attended the class. A person would come in, sit in the seat, and then walk out of the room. The teacher administered a spelling test to the class, although the topic was arithmetic skills. Some were working on multiplication tables, some working on addition of fractions. A lady came in with her homework assignment. The teacher graded it. A young black female was continually talking to others and seemed to be disturbing them. They were not conversing with her. She didn't appear to have much interest in or want to concentrate on her work. A man would stand up and move around. The teachers would say, "Do you want some help?" or "Do you need something else to do?" or "Are you ready to turn something in?"

The room was very crowded. Some 300 instruction manuals were available. The teacher had eight different training manuals with perhaps 20 or more copies of each. Slide reels for programmed teaching machines, basic reading texts and spellers lined the walls. Twenty or thirty chairs were stacked against the wall although there was no room for additional chairs in the room.

I moved on next and spent about 20 minutes in a class on "English as a Second Language." Interaction with the teacher was related to the study materials. The teacher would indicate mistakes and point out the correct form. A different program was developed for each person, depending on his or her native tongue and level of English proficiency. Participants had come from Italy, Puerto Rico and other Spanish-speaking countries of Latin America. The teacher said, "I am a tutor, not a teacher."

I next visited the civics class. It was taught by an elderly women who lectured on the electoral college, the role of the House of Representatives, and the Wallace-Nixon-Humphrey confrontation of the last election. The students seemed bored. I was bored, too. She had a tendency to preach, was very moralistic and condescending toward the students. One of the women maintained an ongoing banter with her, challenging her repeatedly. Most participants were indifferent, but were interested as an articulate but not well-informed woman challenged the teacher. The teacher would say, "This is the American system and we must defend it because..." or she would say to the class, "What do you feel about this, class?" and there would be no response. No one would raise his hand. Then the one woman would say something like, "Everybody knows the system doesn't work this way," or "Everybody knows there is a lot of corruption and graft and that it is all money that runs it," and the teacher's only reply was, That's not what we are talking about." Around the corners of this room were booths, each with a headset, a small recording device of cassette size, and a slide projector. About eight people occupied half of these booths. One woman interrupted the classes by entering dressed in beach clothes with her midriff bare, toting a small child. She seemed to know people in the classes. The child wandered around the Center.

Some students were intent on the programmed materials. Teachers helping them seemed to focus on the materials and on the structuring of the learning situation. Others, not particularly task-oriented in this setting, were moving from room to room, talking with other people. Teachers tried to draw them to the material, not probing into the reasons for moving around but asking whether they had done the next assignment or whether they wanted another text. Most worked intensely and with concentration. One woman worked for forty minutes on mathematics problems without looking up.

> Students ranged in age from 17 or 18 to 45-50. Most were younger women, however. All were receiving adult basic education, the equivalent of elementary training in reading, arithmetic and social studies. Their social skills and experience, however, were beyond those of grade school children dealing with these subjects. A number were articulate, bright, and aware of the meaning of events in Camden. They discussed politics and past presidential elections. One elderly man, perhaps 60 years old, muttered comments. He answered questions about presidential elections and the House of Representatives and his facts were accurate. Teachers called students by their first names and students called teachers Mrs. or Miss. No male teachers were in the settings I observed."

The Local Press Interprets the Atmosphere around WIN

The local actors in the manpower and welfare programs are buffeted by public issues. Some of these are reflected in the Camden press. A few stories carried in the Courier-Post (a Camden paper) during the period of the study will illustrate some. News stories may develop a public image of the official program by reporting on new manpower and welfare services. The press also reports new job opportunities developed by the authorities, citizens groups and private industry. Local opposition to these programs presses upon them in much the same way that the national opposition presses on legislative foundations at the federal level. The press reports this opposition to welfare programs. Elements of the impoverished community are active politically, pressing the authorities and conflicting with business interests. This struggle, too, is reported. Press reportage in defining the climate in which the program operates, is, of course, selective. The following few citations will give the reader a feeling for the way issues on work and welfare are presented to the Camden public.

Announcement of Poverty and Manpower Services

"POVERTY WAR FINANCED, OUTLOOK IS NOW BRIGHT"
(Courier-Post, April 14, 1970)

> "The Southern New Jersey Opportunities Industrialization Center - whose future seemed shaky only months ago - apparently is on solid ground again for at least another year.
>
> James H. Steele, acting executive director and manager of the Camden office at 224 Federal St., said the antipoverty effort is operating on a budget 'about equal' to last year's $461,700 in federal allocation.

Just this week, Rep. John E. Hunt, R-1st, of Pitman, announced granting of $129,692 to the local program under the Manpower and Development Training Act.

The funds, administered by the U.S. Department of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) will finance pre-vocational job orientation for 288 jobless and underemployed trainees.

Additional money for prevocational and basic skills phases of the local program will come from federal sources like the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO).

...OIC had been criticized during its first three years of operation because only about 10 percent of trainees had been placed in actual jobs.

During its last year, however, the percentage of OIC participants who actually went on to related employment rose to more than 25 percent.

And the more than 550 who got jobs, 460 had previously been on welfare, according to local OIC Board Chairman William L. King."

"HEALTH CARE CLINICS SEEN NEED OF STATE"
(Courier-Post, April 3, 1970)

"State Health Commissioner James R. Cowan said yesterday that New Jersey should develop comrehensive health care clinics to counter the mounting complaints of inadequate medical treatment, coming especially from rural and ghetto residents.

...'The patient is referred - maybe shunted is a better word - to specialty clinics held at different times of the day and sometimes not in the same hospital and at hours which often interfere with his ability to earn his living,' the health commissioner noted."

"JOB TRAINING SET FOR POOR YOUTHS"
(Courier-Post, September 3, 1970)

"A job training program for 1,100 youths from poor families is under way at 14 pilot centers, including 13 in a $16,488 program in Camden City, the state community affairs department reported today.

The Camden pilot projects consist of two for $8,244 each under the Black Peoples' Unity Movement at Camden day center and at the North Camden Day center and for $2,580 under BPUM's Economic Development Corp. to hire college students majoring in economic subjects.

Department spokesmen said early grants for regular employment programs in Camden included one for $60,000 for 135 jobs to the city board of education and one for $22,500 for 50 jobs to the city economic opportunity council."

"FUNDS OK'd FOR JOB TRAINING"
(Courier-Post, May 28, 1970)

"The Camden Manpower Development and Training Center has received a $361,221 federal grant to finance vocational training for 215 unemployed and underemployed persons in Camden.

...Eleven free courses will be offered to train: auto body repairmen, auto mechanics, bakers, general office clerks, building maintenance mechanic, screw machine/machine shop operators, plumbing hardware assemblers, nurse's aides, electrical repair shop workers, tailors and cooks.

Those interested should contact the New Jersey State Employment Service, 631 Cooper Street, Camden, or the MDTA Center."

"PILOT SCHOOL PROJECT SET IN CAMDEN"
(Courier-Post, May 21, 1970)

"A federally-funded pilot school improvement projects will be launched in Camden, N.J. this summer was hailed by educational leaders today as a possible model for the nation's urban schools.

The project was described at a National Press Club news conference at which Dr. Charles Smerin, Camden Superintendent of Schools, outlined a two-to-three year program of experimentation in teacher training, curricula and other innovations."

"SCHOOL TRAINING PROJECT OUTLINED BY CITY OFFICIALS"
(Courier-Post, May 1, 1970)

"An estimated 50 Camden residents met last night in the McGraw school to hear school and RCA officials discuss the city's $736,543 'Personnel Development and Demonstration Program.'

...RCA will be working closely with the program in hiring professional and clerical help. It also will assist in providing the newest in technical educational devices for the project.

Charles Smerin, superintendent of city schools, outlined the primary objects:

--Introduction of new curricula and teaching methods.

--Training and further professional development of personnel within the school system.

--Operation of a career opportunities component wherein paraprofessionals can progress through a program of college studies to teacher certification.

--Training of students and community members in educational matters applicable to their needs."

"'CRITICAL FARM HELP SHORTAGE CONFRONTS AREA"
(Courier-Post, April 15, 1970)

"South Jersey farmers face another critical shortage of farm labor with their first major harvest - asparagus - set for cutting in two weeks, the New Jersey Farm Bureau reported today.

C.H. Fields, bureau secretary, said the Puerto Rican migrant labor picture 'does not look good at all; in fact, it's bleak.'

He indicated the Farm Bureau may request the state to certify South Jersey as a 'critical farm labor shortage area.' Thus certified, the federal government would permit labor recruitment from countries other than Puerto Rico."

"IS AMERICA HEADED FOR A 'BIAFRA'?"
(Courier-Post, June 23, 1970)

"The chairman of the Welfare Rights Organization of South Jersey was telling the audience that the United States is heading towards its own Biafra if increased public assistance payments are not soon on the way.

Just a month earlier, a disgruntled Pennsauken mother of six was complaining that 'something is wrong somewhere' when working people must sacrifice to support 'young and able-bodied persons on welfare.'

Both women were expressing the profound frustration they feel at the nation's system of public assistance.

...Unlike Mrs. Brown, many taxpayers feel welfare beneficiaries are far from starving.

A Riverside resident, for example, complained recently that she saw a recipient who had just cashed his monthly check buy five cans of lobsters at $2.25 and six packages of filet mignon at $2.98 each in a local grocery.

'...Something like this incident, which is not as uncommon as some think, really discourages a person from working hard and paying taxes when you can just sit back and collect for doing nothing,' the taxpayer said."

"COUNCILMAN MARINI CALLS THE SHOTS ON CAMDEN'S NEEDS"
(Courier-Post, May 18, 1970)

"Camden City Councilman John R. Marini has criticized the state's welfare system, suggested solutions for the city's economic problems ranging from legalized gambling to taxing churches, and doubted the need for any more low-income housing in Camden.

...As to Camden's financial problems, Marini had a host of solutions to offer including legalized off-track betting, a city wage tax, taxing churches and hospitals and charging them for water and sewer use and charging for dumping at the city's sanitary landfill."

"SALEM COUNTY TO PROSECUTE DEFAULTING WELFARE FATHERS"

(Courier-Post, September 23, 1970)

"...The Salem County Welfare Board has declared war on fraudulent fathers and plans to prosecute them whenever possible.

In explaining the county's new get-tough policy, welfare director Harry Eissler, Jr. said yesterday in a phone interview: 'I plan to give these lice an opportunity to make individual restitution or face up to their responsibilities first. If they fail to do so, then we're going to sock them with everything we have.'

Maximum punishment for desertion or non-support is a fine not to exceed $100 or a one-year jail sentence...He hopes people will get the message and preclude expanding the staff next year.

According to the director, about 750 Salem County families receive assistance through the county's Aid to Dependent Children program. Roughly 50 percent of the fathers are suspected of either non-support or desertion.

How much are these wandering papas costing the taxpayer?

ADC families receive $55 per month. If you multiply this figure by the number of suspected fathers, 380, the sum is $20,900 per month. Carrying the arithmetic one step further, you arrive at $250,800 per year.

"INCOME CEILING PROPOSED FOR STATE WELFARE GRANTS"

(Courier-Post, September 8, 1970)

"An income ceiling on state welfare grants to the underemployed has been proposed by Assemblyman James J. Floria (D-Camden) following recent disclosure of a Burlington County man with a $13,800 yearly income who was legally receiving welfare payments."

"WELFARE DEPARTMENT 'FAILURE' IN PROBES HIT BY BURLINGTON JURY"

(Courier-Post, September 4, 1970)

"The Burlington County Grant Jury yesterday chastised the county Welfare Department for poor investigations and police for failing to do their homework before testifying.

The criticisms came in a presentment that also called for a review of drug laws, better pay for jurors and doubling the number of grand juries to convene each year.

The five-page presentment was handed up to Superior Court Judge Edward V. Martino who in turn made it public.

...The County welfare department came under fire for 'failure to follow-up cases promptly' which the jury felt led to undetected welfare violations. The department was told to 'act more diligently' and establish follow-up procedures."

"JURY PRESENTMENT IRKS WELFARE CHIEF"

(Courier-Post, September 4, 1970)

"They're crazier than hell,' Burlington County Director of Welfare Robert Gallagher said yesterday of the Burlington County Grand Jury.

The summer session of the Grand Jury returned a presentment yesterday in which it criticized Gallagher's department for poor investigation of welfare cases.

...The welfare director said he appeared before the grand jury and testified for hours on his problems.

'We're swamped,' he explained. 'In the last 14 days there were 870 people in my office inquiring about welfare and another 99 today.

'It takes anywhere from 15 minutes to an hour and a half to process an application. How in the hell can I do it (get his caseworkers out on follow-up investigations) if I got everybody taking applications?' he asked.

'I suggest the Grand Jury double my staff,' he added."

THE IMPOVERISHED STRIKE OF THE AUTHORITIES AT THE COMMUNIT

"WELFARE FIGHTS THE BABIES"

(Courier-Post, June 25, 1970)

"The names of Welfare Rights Organization leaders in South Jersey are not exactly household words. Mrs. Barbara Brown is a full-time student at Camden Community College who finds time between studies to be chairman of the South Jersey branch of the WRO. And Mrs. Ruth Welfield, co-chairman of the state-wide organization, is a mother of four who's active in welfare rights 'because of my children.'

...Mrs. Welfield says she is active in the welfare rights group primarily because of her children. 'The system isn't fighting me. It's fighting my babies,' she says.

Many Americans have turned deaf ears to stories like those of Mrs. Brown and Mrs. Welfield.

But others are trying to come up with meaningful solutions to their problems."

"1,200 RCA STRIKERS GET FOOD STAMPS, 250 ARE ON WELFARE"

(Courier-Post, June 24, 1970)

"A total of 1,200 striking RCA electrical workers are receiving food stamps and an additional 250 are on welfare in Camden County.

County Welfare Director Fred L. Streng yesterday confirmed that strikers benefits, provided under the state's welfare system, could build to an estimated 800 families if the strike continues.

According to the director, welfare applications from the strikers, out from RCA plants for three weeks now, are being received at the rate of 30 to 40 per day."

"KAIGHNS AVENUE: LIGHTS ARE GOING OUT ON A BUSINESS STREET"

(Courier-Post, September 16, 1970)

"Stanley Levinthal is worried about leaving his son alone in his shoe store when he has to go out.

Vito and Dora Bovino are wondering what to do about their empty store which they closed after they were robbed last year.

The proprietor of another store is apprehensive about having her husband bring their 16-year-old daughter along when he picks her up after work.

All three have something in common--they are merchants and they share the fear and concern of being in business on Camden's Kaighns Avenue.

...Robberies, vandalism and muggings have become almost an accepted way of life for the businessmen of Kaighns Avenue. Stories about such incidents in turn contribute to reducing the number of customers who are willing to shop in the district.

Levinthal said he keeps plywood panels over his windows at night to prevent breakage and robberies. He also has an iron grating that covers his store front. During the day he has an alarm, dogs and a rifle close at hand.

Even so, in May he was robbed at knifepoint by a man while his son was across the street eating lunch.

...In addition to the robberies, the unfortunate insurance situation, vandalism, abandoned properties and their own fear of staying open, several merchants along the lower end of Kaighns Avenue believe that last year's murder of a woman shopkeeper has caused them irreparable losses.

Levinthal commented that the rape slaying of Mrs. Gertrude Friedman, who operated a carpet and linoleum store at 330 Kaighns Ave., 'has definitely caused a drop in my business.'

...Still another shopkeeper believes that his business is off more than 80 percent because he lost almost all of his former suburban customers as a result of the publicity generated by the killing.

Finally, as though they didn't have enough trouble, the businessmen along the lower end of Kaighns Avenue point an accusing finger at "The Strip", a group of bars, restaurants, stores and a pool hall stretching roughly from Broadway to 7th Street along Kaighns."

"APARTMENT TENANTS BEGIN RENT STRIKE"
(Courier-Post, April 2, 1970)

"Seventy of the 80 tenants of Woodbury Manor yesterday began a rent strike to protest their absentee landlord's delay in correcting what the tenants call unsanitary and hazardous conditions.

Speaking for the Woodbury Manor Tenants Association, Fred Schmidt of Camden Regional Legal Service, Inc., said last night the 10 persons not cooperating in the strike are 'just afraid.'"

"FOR 1,700 FAMILIES IT'S 'URBAN REMOVAL'"
(Courier-Post, May 28, 1970)

"During 1961-62, a total of 399 families and 39 individuals were removed from their homes and 14 businesses were relocated to make way for what was to become the Kaighns Point industrial park in South Camden.

Today, the only thing adorning the city's first urban renewal project is weeds. The 18-acre property has become a gloomy symbol to the city's poor of what urban renewal means in Camden.

Right or wrong, they believe it means displacement of the poor, such as Kaighns Point caused, to make way for industry, commerce, highways, and, at least to their way of thinking, luxury high-rise apartments and housing without any provision for their future."

"SUIT IS FILED TO HALT CITY RENEWAL WORK"
(Courier-Post, April 2, 1970)

"The Camden Coalition and two neighborhood groups have filed an administrative suit with the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development asking an immediate halt to the Center City and Northgate 11 projects in Camden until housing is built for the poor.

The 62-page suit seeks an end to the displacement of families from the two urban renewal reas until a satisfactory relocation plan is approved by HUD Secretary George Romney.

It demands that Camden be ordered to submit a workable program for urban renewal propared by the city's black and Puerto Rican communities."

"NARDI BLASTS TRY TO STYMIE CITY RENEWAL
(Courier-Post, April 3, 1970)

"Camden Mayor Joseph M. Nardi Jr. yesterday lashed out at the Camden Coalition's 'reckless' attempt to halt urban renewal in the city.

'I don't want any more delays,' the mayor said of the city's 11-year plan of renewal. 'And this type of thing will just tend to perpetuate delay.

'To stop all urban renewal after all these years--it would just be reckless,' the mayor charged.

Holding the 62-page administrative suit delivered Wednesday, Nardi said 'it obviously represents the work of many manhours and many people, both professional and not professional.'"

Thus far, the setting for this research report. The previous chapter described the efforts of the federal government to meet the welfare challenge by developing programs such as WIN. The present chapter sets the stage for our examination of the WIN program in the City of Camden. An opening word was written on the economic and demographic situation of a community becoming increasingly black, increasingly matrifocal and increasingly impoverished. A federal program of work and welfare is brought into this setting--interpreted and adapted by state and local agencies until it meshes with local exigencies and ideologies. Press clippings report on the community climate in which the program is implemented, on agency announcements of opportunity and on struggles between some organized segments of the impoverished and the authorities. The next chapter sets forth the specific study design through which the lives of the WIN clients were examined and opens the way to answering broader sets of questions on welfare and work.

CHAPTER IV

THE WIN EXPERIENCE

Constraints and Opportunities: Adjustments in Research Design

The Work Incentive Program is not designed for everyone. It is not designed for all recipients of AFDC. Administrative regulations exclude those in ill health and those too burdened with family responsibility. Mothers for whom it is designed are expected, through its agency, to become economically independent, self-supporting. By upgrading their skills and receiving vocational counseling, some welfare dependents will claim jobs from which they were previously excluded. Meriting a higher wage, the trainined individual will deem work more worthwhile than welfare.

The program policy includes negative sanctions, such as the threat of loss of benefits, to increase motivation to work. These are rarely invoked in Camden. Policy also provides for positive sanctions in the form of training allowances, provision for child care in day care centers, continuance of welfare benefits, medical payments and food stamps. Welfare payments are not "taxed" at 100 percent as soon as earned income appears. A dollar of welfare is not deducted for every dollar earned. Rather, welfare payments are reduced slowly as earned income increases. The program itself does not create jobs, as, for instance, a government works program might. Also, welfare recipients are not encouraged to become entrepreneurial, to enter their own businesses, accepting greater risk for greater returns, though, in this way, new job opportunities might be created. WIN trains workers to become wage earners in enterprises managed by others. The size of the job market is, from the vantage point of the program, considered relatively static. Insofar as the program develops an administrative and operational staff and insofar as the prospect of workers partly supported by welfare encourages employers to hire, some new skilled and semi-skilled jobs are created.

The number of WIN training positions available in a particular community depends, in part, on the level of state and federal funding in that community. This number has tended to be lower than the number of eligibles and much lower than the number of AFDC recipients. Training positions, or "slots," as they are referred to, are assigned according to priorities. Unemployed male parents are assigned first. Remaining "slots" are then assigned to female heads of household.

This chapter begins with a short note on some study procedures. It then turns to the experience of the WIN participants, examining how they negotiate and obtain appointment to scarce "slots" by projecting their levelheadedness and commitment to the work ethic. Some evidence will be adduced on how their personalities and the influence of their social milieux induce this attribute of commitment to work, how some welfare mothers become modernizers while others remain traditionalists, holding firmly to the homemaker role, resisting an occupational role. In the next to the last section of this chapter, the role of WIN in assisting the modernizers to attain their chosen goal will be explored. Through the agency of the program, they shift from traditional service oriented work into manufacturing occupations. This reflects more of a change in life style, a change in the nature of their social relations, than a change in income level. In their struggle to change their life style, they take the program as a foil and develop a "proletarian consciousness." The program becomes the antagonist as WIN participants become politicized. The working mothers, originally thought to represent the "goal state" for the welfare mothers, attained their occupational status through normal market mechanisms. Many of them continue in traditional service occupations. The WIN participants are assisted in changing by an agency of the polity and, in the process, are politicized. The WIN graduates are, in this sense, unlike the working mothers--but, this is to get ahead of our story.

Our research was limited to matrifocal households. Initially, half of those sampled were expected to be assigned to the Work Incentive Program during the study year. The assignees would constitute the "experimental" group. The others would remain as unassigned WIN candidates and be considered a "control" group. The researchers intended to participate in making assignments to assure that the two groups would be matched on relevant attributes. By interviewing both groups in the summer of 1969 and then again in the summer of 1970, a traditional before/after design, we hoped to isolate the effects of WIN on attitudes toward and work and the attainment of economic independence on the experimental group.

WIN authorities at the state level were concerned lest this assignment procedure be discriminatory. Potential trainees assigned to a control group that would not immediately proceed through WIN training might appear to be denied training for the sake of research. The researchers, therefore, separated themselves from the procedure for WIN training assignment. A sample of names was selected from the AFDC lists according to WIN eligibility criteria. Training assignments would fall as they might. (Sampling procedure is described in detail in Appendix A.)

The program officials' assignees would not likely be matched with non-assignees on research relevant criteria. In fact, the criteria of assignment are selective and assure a disparity. Assuredly, some statistical control might be exerted during the analysis. This forced design modification could, however, be turned to advantage. An examination of the very differences between the assignees and the others would reveal a resultant of selection criteria of program officials and the self-selection of the target population.

Circumstances forced yet another design modification. When the study was launched, in the summer of 1969, Camden's WIN "slots" were already committed--primarily to unemployed fathers. Openings became available only when assignees terminated--by reason of resignation, job placement or completion of their program. Consequently, only three or four welfare mothers entered training each month. We were hoping that during the year we would succeed in interviewing 500 of the 600 eligibiles on our list and that about half would have been in training. Realistically, however, at the rate of entry into training, this quota could not be met.

To meet this difficulty, all mothers in Camden assigned to WIN during the two months prior to the first interview period were added to the sample. In addition, the Camden County Welfare Board provided the names of all of its WIN entrants month by month between the summer of 1969 and the spring of 1970. Some of them had not fallen into the original sample. They, too, were added to the interview list. Thus, to obtain sufficient "experimental" cases, we accepted the possibility that the addition of non-randomly selected cases might distort the sample and that a two month exposure before the interview would dilute a pure "before" measure (1). Ultimately, the distortions in both of these respects proved to be minor.

Four hundred and forty-seven AFDC mothers were interviewed, most of them during the summer of 1969. Of these, 373 were reinterviewed in the summer of 1970. Data relevant to WIN participation was available in 365 cases. Of these, 236 had never been contacted by the WIN program at all, 84 had been invited to participate but had not yet begun their training and 45 had, in a greater or lesser degree, participated in the WIN program. For brevity, these groups will be called the deferred, the nominees and the participants. The participants constituted the experimental group, having been exposed to WIN training and, in all likelihood to some work experience. The non-assignees, whether deferred or nominees, constituted two control groups. Neither would, expectedly, have had WIN training but, like the participants, they would have passed the year in Camden as AFDC recipients. The nominees would have been selected for WIN but not trained. The deferred were neither selected nor trained.

WIN trainees would, presumably, abandon welfare for the world of work. It seemed to make sense to add another control group reflecting the destination. These would be female heads of households who were fully em-

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[1] The situation was such that it might not be possible to achieve the research goals as specified in the proposal. Literal adherence to the original plan for matching would have led to a study based on 45 WIN assignees and 45 matched non-assignees. A purer experimental/control design would have been maintained but with too few cases for adequate analysis. A different report would have emerged. The limited number of WIN trainees was not foreseen when the research design was sketched in the late spring of 1968. Neither the Philadelphia nor the Camden programs had yet been funded. To have waited until the programs were running before designing this research would have delayed this report, and its usefulness as program "feedback", still longer.

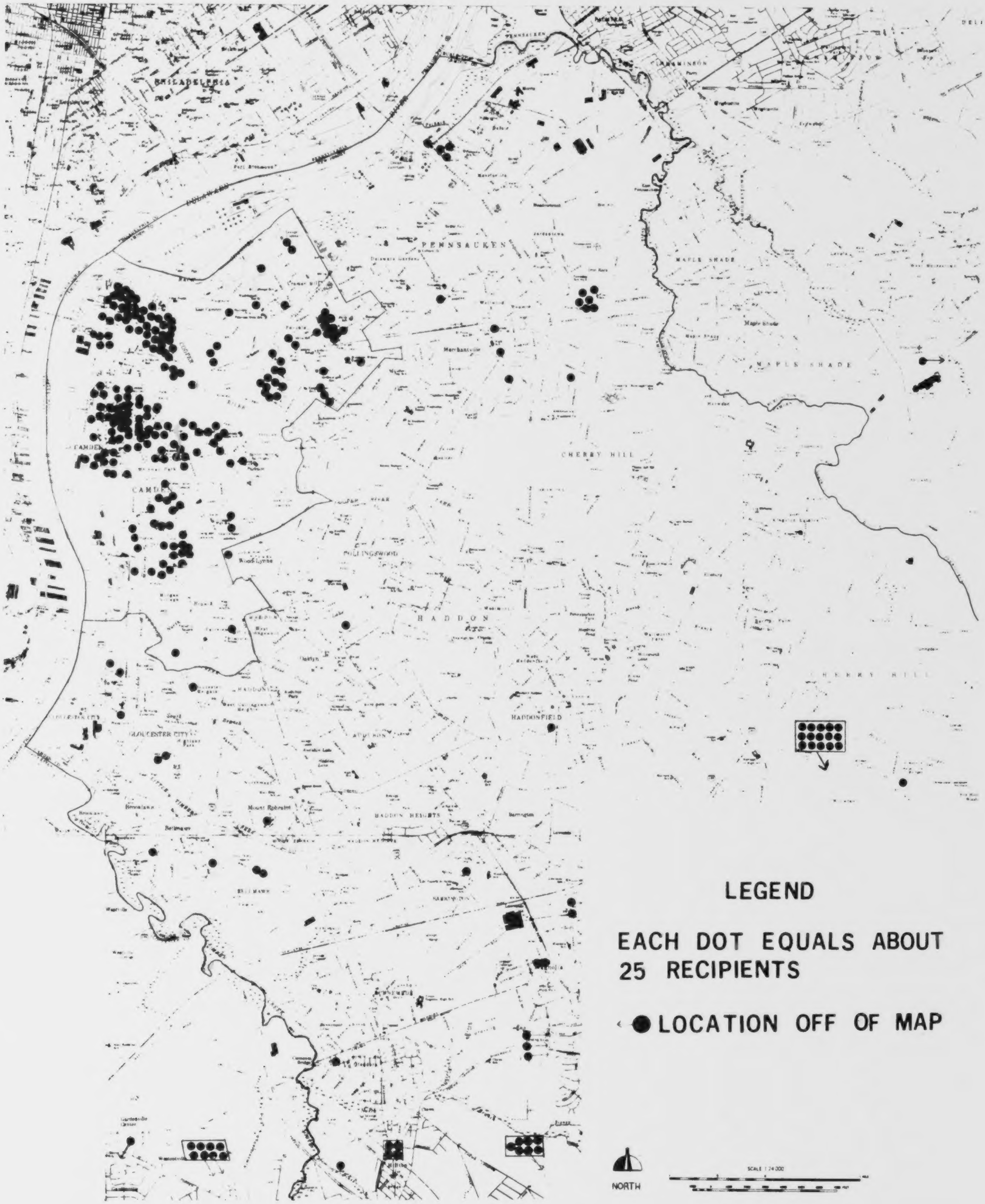
ployed and not receiving welfare. Such a sample of working mothers was added. One hundred and two working mothers were interviewed in February, 1970, eighty-seven of them reinterviewed in that summer. Again, we would have a before/after measure for this additional control--though, the initial time was delayed. Most of the working mothers dwelt in public housing projects in Camden City, in the same neighborhoods as did the welfare mothers and they had roughly the same incomes. In the final analysis, the working mothers represented the "goal state" of WIN participants in some senses and not in others as will become apparent toward the end of this chapter. Having this additional sample was providential in terms of the small number of WIN participants. It permitted a much finer analysis of the dynamics of work and welfare than would have been possible with the AFDC sample alone. This chapter will, however, report only on the comparison of those exposed and not exposed to WIN in other AFDC welfare populations. Succeeding chapters will pursue a comparison of the AFDC welfare mothers and the working mothers. The following map (Map IV-1) shows the spatial distributions of the Camden welfare populations. Maps IV-2-4 then show the distribution of the welfare and working samples contributing to this study. Map IV-1 shows, as we discovered in the previous chapter, that the Camden County welfare population is almost entirely in Camden City. Map IV-2, when compared with Map IV-1, shows little difference between the spatial distributions of the sample of welfare mothers and of the entire welfare population. Working mothers' households are, as expected, residentially interspersed among the welfare households. Map IV-3 shows that by the time of the return interview some areas in the center of Camden City had smaller welfare populations, an impact of an urban renewal program; the displaced mothers tended to move to other urban poverty clusters in the city. Map IV-4 testifies that most of the residential mobility of this basic population during the study year occurred within Camden City. Only about twenty cases (two dots on the map) moved out of the city while a like number moved into the city from other parts of the county.

The initial interviews with welfare mothers were conducted by means of a questionnaire. The first item on the questionnaire was a measure of intellectual competence. A very low score on the measure signalled the field worker to read the questionnaire to the respondent - otherwise, the questionnaire was self-administered. In addition to background social and personal attributes, the questionnaire was designed to elicit information on a series of work related variables--including projectively revealed personality characteristics and a standardized measure of time perspective, scales to assess interest in working and in fulfilling the traditional home oriented role of a mother, labor force relevant training and occupational experience, attitudes toward home and family and toward work and wages, characteristics of their extended families and friendship cliques and measures of participation in political and religious institutions. Income and expenditure budgets were documented line by line.

This basic questionnaire was modified for the reinterview in 1970 . Primarily, items were deleted in which no change or a simply predictable change would be anticipated. Questions were added regarding work and WIN experience in the intervening year. Welfare mothers are categorized as deferred, nominees and participants in WIN in items of this measure.

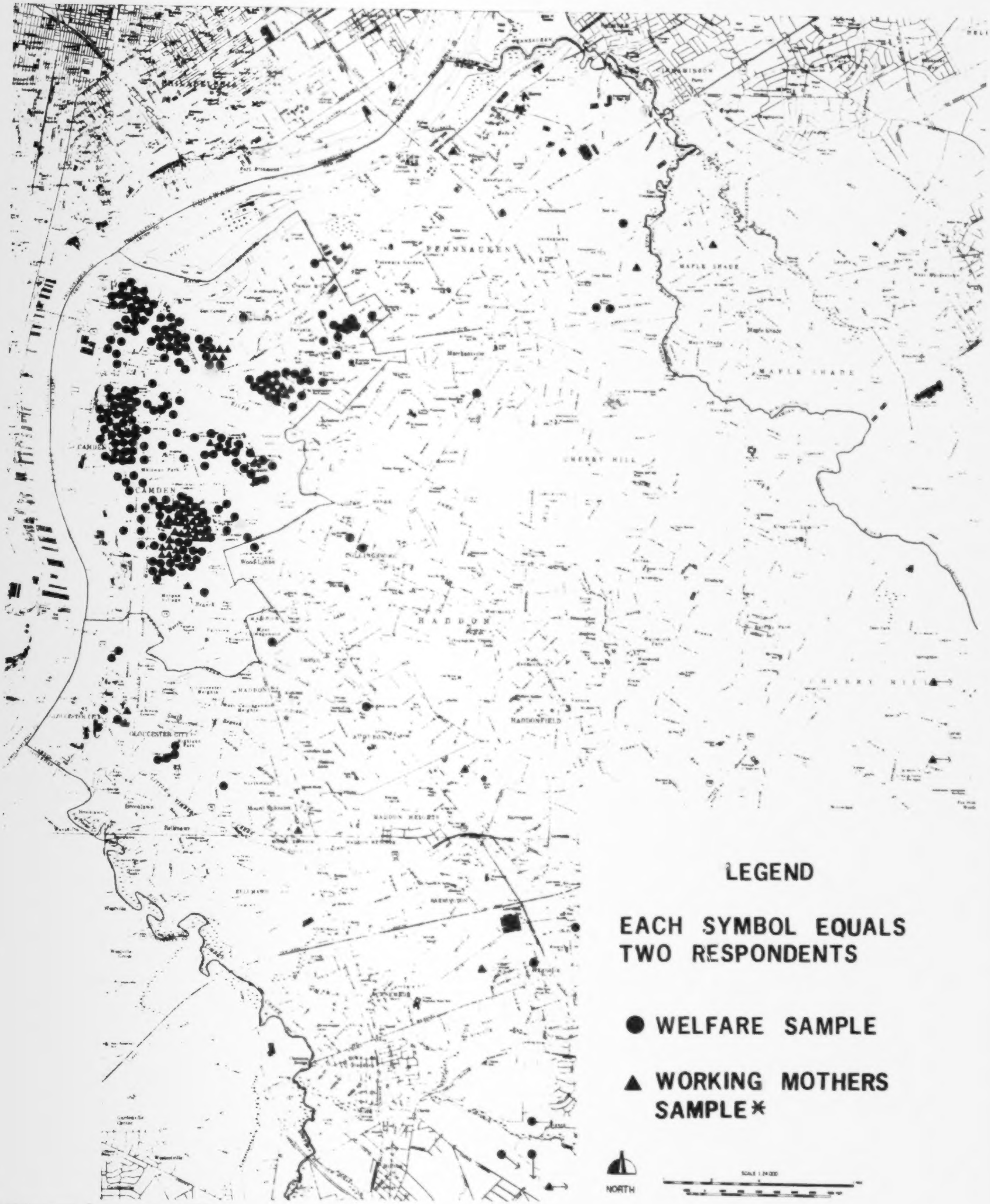
MAP IV-1

HOUSEHOLDS WITH MOTHERS RECEIVING AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN IN CAMDEN COUNTY, N.J. — AUGUST 1969


PHILADELPHIA
PENNSAUKEN
MAPLE SHADE
CHERRY HILL
CAMDEN
COLLINGSWOOD
HADDON
HADDONFIELD
GLOUCESTER CITY
HADDON HEIGHTS
LEGEND
EACH DOT EQUALS ABOUT 25 RECIPIENTS
● LOCATION OFF OF MAP
NORTH
SCALE 1:24,000

MAP IV-2

STUDY SAMPLE WAVE I SUMMER 1969


PENNSAUKEN
CAMDEN
CAMDEN
MAPLE SHADE
CHERRY HILL
CHERRY HILL
HADDON
HADDONFIELD
GLOUCESTER CITY
NORTH

LEGEND

EACH SYMBOL EQUALS TWO RESPONDENTS

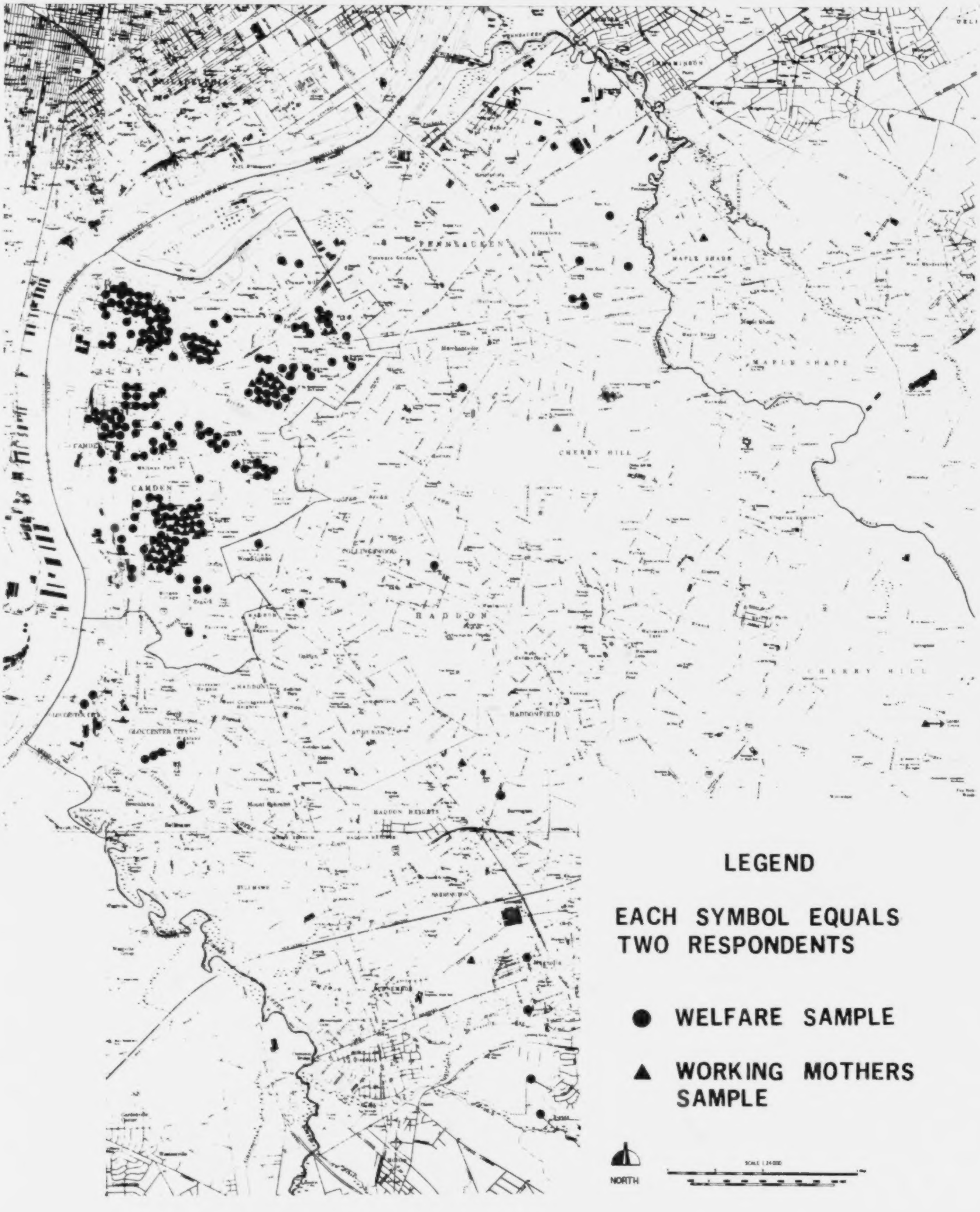
● **WELFARE SAMPLE**

▲ **WORKING MOTHERS SAMPLE***

*Obtained February, 1970

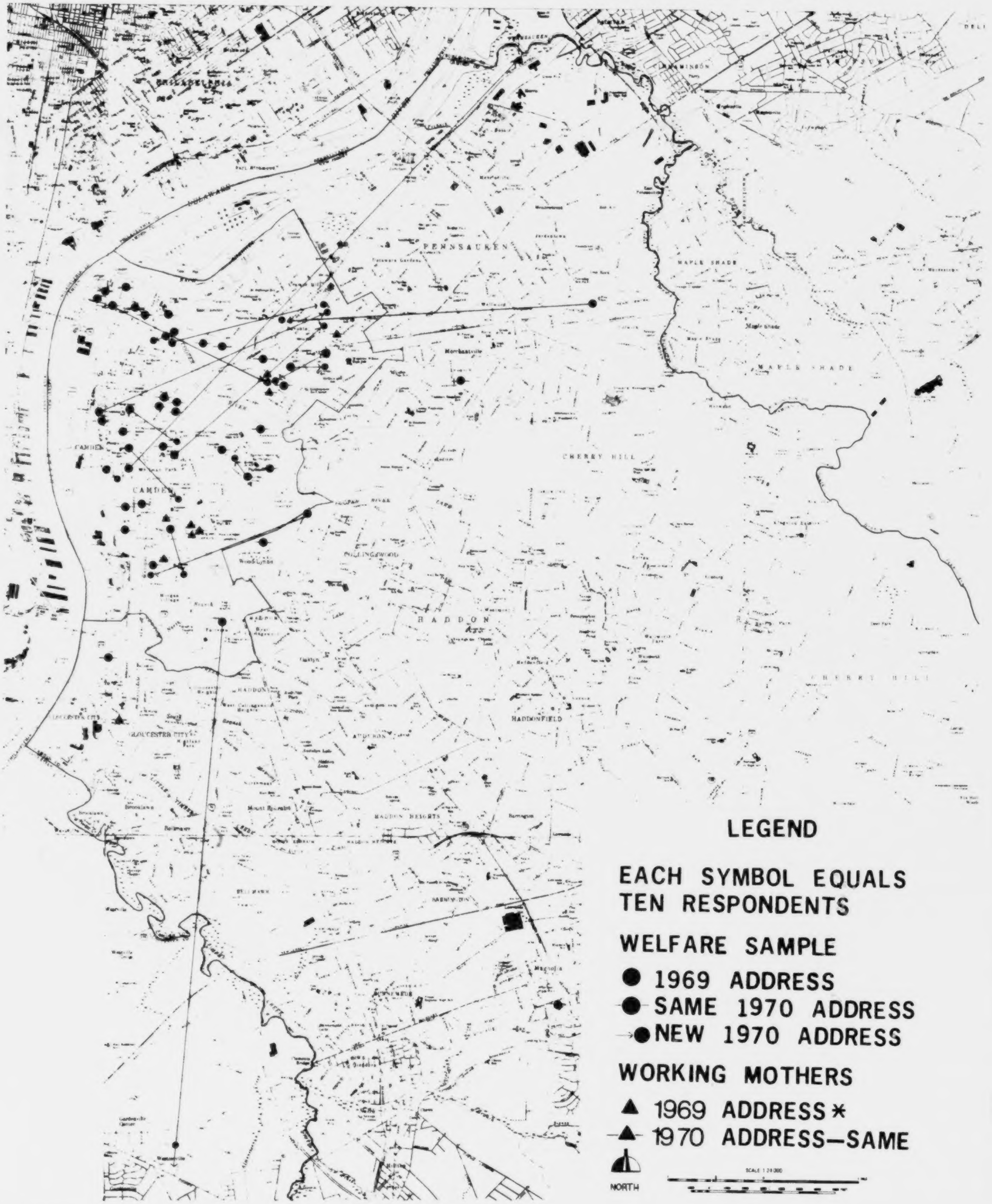
MAP IV-3

STUDY SAMPLE WAVE II SPRING—SUMMER 1970


PENNSAUKEN
MAPLE SHADE
CHERRY HILL
CAMDEN
HADDON
COLLINGSWOOD
HADDONFIELD
HADDON HEIGHTS
GLOUCESTER CITY
LEGEND
EACH SYMBOL EQUALS TWO RESPONDENTS
● WELFARE SAMPLE
▲ WORKING MOTHERS SAMPLE
NORTH
SCALE 1:24 000

MAP IV-4

RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY OF STUDY SAMPLE 1969—1970


PHILADELPHIA
PENNSAUKEN
MAPLE SHADE
CAMDEN
CHERRY HILL
COLLINGSWOOD
HADDON
HADDONFIELD
GLOUCESTER CITY
HADDON HEIGHTS
LEGEND
EACH SYMBOL EQUALS TEN RESPONDENTS
WELFARE SAMPLE
● 1969 ADDRESS
-● SAME 1970 ADDRESS
→● NEW 1970 ADDRESS
WORKING MOTHERS
▲ 1969 ADDRESS *
-▲- 1970 ADDRESS—SAME
NORTH

*Obtained February, 1970

The same basic instruments, in a shorter form, guided interviews with the working mothers on the two occasions. Thus, we have a basic instrument and three modifications. The first is referred to as Welfare Mothers Questionnaire Wave I; and the modifications are Welfare Mothers Questionnaire Wave II, Working Mothers Questionnaire Wave I, and Working Mothers Questionnaire Wave II.

Specific measures will be discussed as they are introduced in the ensuing analysis. Appendix A provides a detailed discussion of the construction of the instruments, their pilot testing and an examination of the validity and reliability of a number of their items. This appendix includes detail on sampling procedure, a description of the organization and administration of data gathering in the field as well as an anthropologist's discussion of limitations imposed by the use of the survey method in the study of impoverished populations. The "open marginal" distributions obtained for each of the items on each of the four instruments are displayed in Appendix B along with the coding instructions which give the rules followed in categorizing responses.

These are the constraints under which research proceeded. The changed conditions presented an opportunity for indirect study of WIN selection procedures. The next section examines criteria for nomination to the roster of potential trainees. The local agency is a gatekeeper between the clients and the program as prescribed in the manual. Client and agency together negotiate modifications in the prescribed program which serve to reduce tensions around its implementation and to maximize its successes.

Nomination to WIN

The Local Agency as Gatekeeper

The experience of WIN participants may be considered in at least three stages: the WIN selection process, the WIN training program and the subsequent experience with job placement and other program sequalae. This study did not examine the training in any detail. By indirection, some impacts of the program may be assessed. The selection process is the focus of this section.

Eligibility for WIN was a criterion in our sample selection. All of the 447 AFDC recipient mothers are eligible for assignment to WIN training and job placement in the literal terms set forth in the manual. Nevertheless the 236 deferred mothers never had contact with the program, and of the 129 placed on the WIN roster, only 45 participated in WIN training while the 84 remained nominees during the study year.

Two steps in the selection may be specified. The first separates the assignees (some of whom later become participants) from the non-assignees or, as they are here designated, the deferred. The second step selects participants from among the nominees on the roster. To place a name on the roster is to state an intent. To refer a candidate for participation depends on a match between the competencies of the candidate and the types of training or jobs available in a particular community.

The first decision will be examined now by comparing the characteristics of the deferred, on the one hand, with the characteristics of the nominees and participants, on the other hand. Alternatively, selective criteria might have been examined by asking the decision makers to introspect and report what they thought they did. The present method has the advantage of being more objective and evaluating the decision in terms of its actual outcome. It is less sensitive than the subjective method for discriminating subtle weighings and considerations in the process. The directive defining eligibility, rooted in the language of the WIN legislation, the Social Security Act of 1967, is interpreted and reinterpreted through a long series of decisions before eventuating in a caseworker's assignment notice to an AFDC recipient. The WIN administrative manual, as formulated in the Bureau of Work Training Programs of the Department of Labor, draws the boundaries of eligibility. Special memoranda issued by the state WIN authority interpret the administrative manual in the light of the state's general administrative and funding practices. The local welfare or employment office, acting under these directives, decides who, of all AFDC recipients, should be assigned to the available training positions. These steps were discussed briefly in the previous chapter.

The language of the original legislation is a product of compromise. Specific decisions may reflect the attitude of Congressmen and of prevailing public opinion in their home constituencies. The local agency is under different constraints. It is exposed, for instance, to demands of the black community for opportunities to upgrade their occupational position and to demands of agency leadership that their final reports show successful placements. The decision of the welfare worker at the end of this chain, is constrained by the interpretations of the higher echelons as well as by his relations within his agency and, most importantly, with the welfare client.

The caseworker is the principal gatekeeper of the program. That participation is, in practice, limited to those invited by caseworkers may be demonstrated rather directly. Those not invited by caseworkers do not, by and large, hear of the program. Of the 236 deferred, that is, not invited to participate in the WIN program during the year of the study, only 79 had heard of WIN by the summer of 1970. Slightly less than half of the 79 who had heard of WIN had learned of the program through welfare office personnel (IX-11)*. Friends, relatives and general publicity were sources of information for the remainder. On the other hand, welfare personnel were the primary source of information for the assignees. Eighty-nine percent (83) of the nominees and 71 percent (45) of participants in the program learned of it through a caseworker. Those who were assigned, either as nominees or participants, were far more likely to have learned of the program through a caseworker than were those deferred or never invited to participate (x^2=31.5, df=1, $p < .001$) (2).

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*The number in parentheses designates the variable for which the associated data is being presented. In this case, IX-11 means that data for this variable has been entered on Card IX in Column 11. Following this card and column identification the text of the item as well as the distribution of responses, the "marginals", may be located in Appendix B. When not apparent from Appendix B, the way the response categories of the original item have been collapsed, or "mapped", will be cited in the text.

The lack of diffusion of this information among AFDC recipients prior to its dissemination by an agency official implies little interaction among welfare recipients. They do not, as a whole, therefore, constitute a social interaction group, and the idea of a "welfare community" may be hypostatized with little evidential basis. More will be said about this later.

Informing is a first step in selecting. The welfare official informing a client about the existence of the program is beginning to select her for the program. The client's behavior conditions the likelihood of her being informed. Some welfare mothers actively seek information and, upon learning of the program, may prod for WIN assignment. Others, after being informed and selected, may appeal against it. The caseworker, in anticipation of client response, may telephone one client about an apprenticeship while deleting a client known to be in difficult family circumstances from the list (3).

The strategic part played by the caseworker is illustrated by his control of information. A comparison of those referred with those nominated will reveal other operative criteria relevant to the caseworker's decision to list the client as eligible. Following this, a comparison of nominees with participants will reveal something of the criteria relevant to the second decision, referral to training.

Trying to Select Winners

A brief analysis of the influence of race on WIN nomination and assignment will illustrate the logic of our procedure (4). Questions of

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[2] The most common test of significance used in this report is the x^2 (chi square). Generally, immediately following the presentation of a datum, or at the bottom of a table, information will be given, in order, on the chi square computed value, the df (degrees of freedom) and the p value, the probability that a difference as large as the one observed might be obtained by chance. Ordinarily, if $p < .05$, the differences will be considered significant.

[3] The fact that the caseworker is a primary gatekeeper does not mean that the caseworker's personal predilections are the crucial element affecting his decision. The data available here do not permit assessment of the relative importance of personal attitudes and of the structural constraints under which he operates. Since the appointment of the caseworker himself is socially determined, social functions rather than idiosyncratic personality factors must be primary.

[4] The language in this discussion is elliptical. The term decision or selection does not refer to an option exercised by an individual but refers

race and racial discrimination are prominent in discussions of welfare policy. Blacks are overrepresented among welfare clients--this, by and large, because they are overrepresented among the poor.

Were race no issue in WIN assignment, the same proportions of blacks and whites would be found among the deferred, the nominees and the participants (5) (6) (I-59). Blacks accounted for 70 percent (234) (7) of the deferred, 75 percent (81) of the WIN nominees and 82 percent (44) of the WIN

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to the fact that a social event, here WIN assignment, occurs in one direction rather than in another. The personal decisions associated with this result may not actually be seeking that result.

The reference to the influence of race is also a shorthand. The intent is to say that people who make decisions consider race in making up their minds. Race is not the causal factor--the decisions oriented to the fact of race are the causal factors.

[5] The analysis is concerned with the experimental effect of an event--WIN selection and training--which occurred between the 1969 and 1970 interviews. Tables in this section are, therefore, restricted to the 365, of the original 447 cases, reinterviewed in 1970. Data on WIN status is from the second interview (IX-12). Some bits of information, such as that on race, were obtained during the first interview.

[6] As mentioned above, this reference number I-59 indicates that the data for this item were entered in Card I, column 59. Appendix B presents the tabulations. The percentages of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, whites and members of other races in both the samples of welfare and of working mothers are given in that Appendix. We find that of the 446 welfare mothers responding to the first questionnaire, 70 percent were black, 19 percent were white and 11 percent classified as belonging to other races. By and large, the reader may assume that cases lost between the first and second interviews showed no bias in terms of relevant factors. Thus, the racial distribution of the 365 cases interviewed in 1970 does not differ significantly from that of the full 447 cases interviewed in 1969. In fact, of the 365 cases, 73 percent were black, 18 percent were white and 9 percent were classified as belonging to other races.

[7] The figure 71 percent (234) is to be read as indicating that of a total of 234 "deferred", 71 percent were black. The remaining 29 percent of these 234 persons were non-black or, in this case, were classed as white, Puerto Rican or of other background. That the numbers presented alongside the three percentages (234, 81 and 44) do not add to 365 is due to the fact that for six cases information was not available either about their race or about their WIN status. In this particular instance, since only those cases are being considered for which WIN status is known, the missing cases must lack racial data. In general, non-respondents are excluded from computations.

The basic frequency distributions obtained in response to a question on WIN status are given in Appendix B, item IX-12. The three categories in this item are named "never contacted" (0,1), "contacted but did not start" (2-5) and "participated" (6-9). These numbers in parentheses refer to the "punches" or "tabs" into which responses to the item were originally classified.

participants ($x^2=2.9$, df= 2, $.2<p<.3$). These differences do not attain statistical significance though their direction suggests discrimination in favor of blacks. The proportion of blacks seems higher among these more involved in WIN. The reason for this is not immediately obvious. If black over-assignment is a fact, it may be argued that it is a response to political pressure in their favor, their demands for training and jobs. The opposite might also be argued. Greater public pressure may be excited to remove them from welfare rolls and, if politically weak, they would be less able than whites to resist assignment to WIN.

Further analysis, involving more cases, would be needed to resolve these questions, to test these explanations. A direct test of these conjectures would require comparing probabilities of assignment for each race controlling for various factors. Nevertheless, the logic of the conjectures may be tested by examining the association between assignment and each factor individually. No information is available in this study on political pressure exerted by blacks. Therefore, the suggestion that it might be a factor must remain impressionistic. The suggestion about a tendency to use WIN to remove a special population from welfare rolls may be examined with respect to recent arrivals, a group disproportionately black, and immigrants from the South, a group almost entirely black.

It has been argued that relief programs in northern cities are attracting migrants because of generous relief terms. Data, drawn entirely from recipient rolls, would not show whether recent migrants are more likely than old residents to receive AFDC. The relation between number of years a welfare recipient has lived in the Camden area and her chances of assignment to WIN is, however, observable. Among those in Camden five years or less (IV-12), 34 percent (113) were nominated or participated. Among those resident longer than five years, 36 percent (125) were nominated or participated (x^2=n.s.) (8). Thus, assignment is unrelated to length of residence.

Is there a tendency to assign recent immigrants from the South in order to remove them from welfare rolls or a bias toward assigning those from the North on the assumption that they would be better socialized to local work requirements and improve the agency's success record? This, too, is subject to test. Among AFDC mothers born in the Southeastern states (IV-13), 35 percent (112) were nominated or participated. For those born in all other locales, the proportion was identical (35 percent (252)) (x^2=n.s.). Region of origin is also not associated with assignment. Thus, neither the general pressure of public opinion to reduce the welfare rolls by removing special regional categories nor by removing recent migrants, to the extent that such pressures might be felt in Camden, seems to influence assignment. At least WIN assignment does not appear as a way to effect such opinions. Further, if there is a slightly greater tendency to assign blacks

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[8] Where the x^2 test does not reveal statistically significant or nearly significant results, n.s. (non-significant) will be stated. The reader may compute the actual x^2 value from the figures given. Here the proportion deferred (67 percent of non-residents and 64 percent of old residents) is left implicit.

to the program, it is not likely for these reasons. We might conjecture at this point that the likelihood of entering WIN training is improved not so much where there is pressure to assign people but where the clients themselves press for admission; WIN has both a "carrot" and a "stick" We will find that the "carrot" is more important for predicting assignment and will be surprised to learn that the attractive attribute of the "carrot" is not named "economic incentive" but is called "life style".

These currents of public opinion regarding migration and welfare may be effective in the debate at the level of policy formation and of legislation but not at the level of the operating agency. Each organizational level is influenced by its own constituencies and constraints. As a result, legislated policy is modified when implemented.

What interest would be effective at the agency level? The agency's need to report successes upward should impel it to assign clients with the greatest promise of success. On the other hand, the agency in striving to maintain good relations with its clients may be pressed to negotiate appointments to WIN in the light of client demands. This could place the agency in a dilemma. However, success and client desires converge. Those who want the program are most likely to succeed in it. As long as there are not too many slots to fill, the agency can enjoy the luxury of filling them with people of promise. To maximize success, the agency would be well advised to select the young and energetic who are most open to resocialization, the most intelligent and the most psychologically stable who have better chances of success in training and in holding a job. Age (I-60) does seem to be a significant factor in WIN assignment. This is shown in Table IV-1.

TABLE IV-1

LIKELIHOOD OF WIN ASSIGNMENT FOR RELATIVELY
YOUNGER AND OLDER WELFARE MOTHERS
(in percents)

WIN ASSIGNMENT	AGE OF WELFARE MOTHERS 15-26	27 or older
Deferred	59	68
Nominees	25	22
Participants	16	10
	(146)	(216)

$x^2=3.9$, df=2, $.1 < p < .2$ (comparing only deferred with participants: $x^2=3.8$, df=1, $p < .05$)

Young women are less likely to be deferred and more likely to participate, this despite the fact that 94 percent (185) of women 26 and under but only 60 percent (255) of these 27 or older had children under six at the time of the 1969 interview. The young seem overassigned despite their responsibility for pre-schoolers. Among women with children under six, 40 percent (135) of these 15-26 and 28 percent (131) of those 27 or older were nominated to or participated in WIN ($X^2=4.1$, df-1, $p < .05$). On the other hand, 21 percent (182) of the younger women and 49 percent (260) of the older women had two or more children at the time of the first interview. Might it be that the young were selected because, despite their having preschoolers, they have fewer children. Among women with one child, 46 percent (119) of those under 26 and 41 percent (108) of those 27 or older were nominated to or participate in WIN (x^2=n.s.). Among those with two or more children, the comparable figures are 25 percent (85) of those under 34 and 0 percent (52) of those 34 or older were assigned ($X^2=11.4$, df=1, $p < .001$). There still seems to be a tendency to overassign the young. It is less significant for small than for large families. Older women would include more who have been on welfare for a long time, the least likely to change life style. The young are more adaptable to skill upgrading and more energetic. An agency intent on a good record would be more likely to assign the young, and, apparently this is done despite the greater proportion with preschoolers. Such an outcome must have the assent of the young mothers since they could legitimately refuse assignment on the grounds that they have young children.

Intellectual ability is associated with success in training and with job success. If the agency selects to maximize success, the brighter women should be overassigned. Intelligence was measured by the digit symbol test (I-5) excerpted from the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale. As a non-verbal test, the digit-symbol is less subject to cultural bias than some others. The digit symbol test requires the testee to match symbols with numerals--the raw score being the number matched correctly in ninety seconds. About one of six interviewees scored less than 28 out of a possible 90 points on this test. These women would find any but the simplest jobs trying. Nevertheless, it is doubtful that these scores are related to the likelihood of WIN assignment. Thirty percent (61) of those with scores of 28 or less were nominated to or participated in WIN as compared with 37 percent (302) of those with higher scores (x^2=n.s.). The likelihood of assigning those of low intellectual ability may be a bit lower, but the difference is not statistically significant. Since the program does not have a component specializing is problems of the retarded, few of the 61 low scoring assignees would have hope of success. It does not seem likely that caseworkers would assign these women were they aware of their level of mental competence. One must conclude that caseworkers have no access to measures of intelligence and, partly because of a cultural difference between themselves and their clientele, and because of limited personal contact, they are unable to discern intellectual abilities.

What of psychological stability? Certainly, the psychologically unstable would be less likely to succeed? The instrument contained projective measures for personality assessment. These included a draw-a-person test and the writing or stories in response to prepared sketches. In the first case, the interviewee was asked to draw a person any way she might please. The figures drawn were classified in terms of the degree of psychopathology they indicated (I-7) [9]. Thirty-eight percent (163) of mothers whose drawing indicated relatively normal personalities, and 33 percent (200) of those classed as showing some pathology were nominated to or participated in WIN (x^2=n.s.). The percentage difference is in the expected direction--the more pathological seem less likely to be assigned--but is not statistically significant.

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[9] Here, of course, the response categories are not given directly in the questionnaire item. The coding manual following the presentation of the marginals in Appendix B provides the criteria used for classifying projective responses.

A series of other measures of personality also failed to correlate with WIN status. These included classifications of respondents according to whether they drew same or the opposite sex (I-18) (a measure of masculinity/femininity or of possible homosexuality), whether they drew a child or an adult (I-9) (a measure of maturity), the proportion of the body drawn (I-10) (a measure of the balance between the intellectual and emotional life), treatment of facial features (I-11) (a measure of psychological openness to social contact), the showing of teeth (a sign of aggressive tendencies), whether they drew an open mouth (I-12) (a sign of dependency), and the size of the figure drawn (I-13) (a measure of ego expansiveness). Only if the measures indicated extreme immaturity, maladjustment to the sex role, aggressivity, emotionality, dependency or either megalomania or catatonia would job success be affected--particularly with respect to jobs involving much human interaction. The scoring was probably not sensitive enough to distinguish extremes. On the one hand, if variation along these dimensions is sensed, the caseworker may not consider them job relevant. On the other hand, because of the cultural gap, the caseworker may not sense these attributes.

A difference, however, in the treatment of eyes, did relate to assignment (I-16). Some drawings show no eyes at all, or show only pinpoints. The figure may appear blind, visually cut off from the outside world. Eyes drawn normally may express the social openness of seeing and being seen. Thirty percent (179) of those drawing blind or near blind figures and 40 percent (184) of those drawing figures with normal eyes were nominated or participated in WIN ($x^2=4.1$, $df=1$, $p<.05$). WIN assignees, thus, tend to be more socially outgoing than those not selected. The readiness to accept social interaction in general, as reflected in this psychological indicator, may include readiness to step forward in a job situation in particular. The caseworker may sense the clients' outgoingness without being able to articulate the basis for his feeling. He may simply sense confidence that the client will succeed. Indeed, to the extent that success depends on human relations, the caseworker selecting those who, in this research drew normal eyes and rejecting the drawers of blind figures is loading the assignment in the direction of success.

The forces affecting legislators and policy makers emerge in stated eligibility criteria which act as a constraint on the agency. The agency, however, maneuvers in its area of flexibility to select for success. The more vigorous young and outgoing are more likely to be assigned. These are external correlates of success--the first criterion being available from the record while the second requires an interview. While intelligence and psychopathology may correlate with success in training, the agency does not seem to consider these attributes in the assignment process. The probable explanation is that these attributes are not visible to the caseworker due to lack of clinical sophistication, inability to interpret personality across a cultural barrier or simply because heavy case loads prevent the intimate contact necessary to discover them. Assignment becomes simply a matter of checking the AFDC rosters in terms of manifest attributes such as age, employability and dependency.

The Client Negotiates

The decision is not one sided. The vigorous and outgoing may seek assignment. The strongly home-centered resist assignment. For the welfare mother to be an effective influence on her assignment presumes more than an impersonal review of the roster. The mother must have access to the caseworker, and the caseworker, for her part, must be open to negotiation with the client. The negotiation need not be explicit and verbal. Most likely, with experience, caseworkers can anticipate and be influenced by client responses.

The preference of a homemaker role over a worker role is one basis for deferrment from the program. Respondents were asked how they feel about housework (IV-45). Assumedly, a woman who likes housework will be home oriented--either preferring to care for her own home or, if entering the labor force, more likely to do so as a domestic. Among those who said they liked housework very much, 25 percent (93) were nominated or participated in WIN. Among those who liked it less or disliked it, 39 percent (268) were nominated or participated (x^2=6.0, df=1, $p < .02$). Clearly, a woman who rejects the type of home involvement implied here is more likely to obtain a WIN assignment. Between the first and the second interviews, the proportion reporting they like housework increased somewhat, yet the relationship of this variable to WIN assignment remained. In the 1970 reinterview, 24 percent (119) of those liking housework very much and 41 percent (242) of those not liking it were nominated to or participated in the WIN program (x^2=9.6, df=1, $p < .01$). It is possible that this attitude itself is manifest in discussions between client and caseworker. A client demonstrating commitment to the homemaker role, rather than to the work role, may discourage the caseworker from assigning her to the program. The caseworker, from her perspective, may take commitment to the homemaker role to predict resistance to occupational resocialization and, probably, with some justification. Concerned with a success record, the caseworker might assign the "slot" to another more promising candidate. More likely, the research obtained response on attitude toward housework betokens a wider cluster of attitudes--all indicating a preference to spend the day as a mother rather than as a worker. The caseworker might become sensitive to any of a number of dimensions betokening this orientation. We have here a first glimpse of a factor which will become increasingly significant as this report continues. Women tend to divide into broadly traditionalist orientations, on the one hand, and modernizing orientations on the other, each reflecting an attitude toward her family role and, at the same time, a discriminator of the mother's general interest in moving from welfare to work.

The caseworker not only acts to develop a success record but also is sensitive to the need to maintain a good relationship with the client. Adapting the general eligibility criteria--in either direction--is one way to accomplish this. Significantly, while the legislation and the directives based on it take little heed of traditionalist and modernizing life style considerations, the program at the local level is adapted around just such foci.

Participation in WIN

Forty-five Who Made It

Some assignees remained on the list of candidates throughout the year. Others entered training. This distinction reflected a second negotiation. Of one hundred and twenty-nine welfare mothers in our sample referred to the WIN program, 84 did not initiate training during the year between interviews. Persumably, some would enter training later. Forty-five did begin and of these six completed their training.

The experience of these forty-five trainees will be the nub of this and the following section. We will first examine the appointment process--the factors which channeled forty-five of our 365 welfare mothers, and, more particularly, of the 129 nominee mothers into training. Then, we will cite a few results, expected and unexpected, of that training.

The formal curriculum and a brief report of a participant observer in several Camden training sessions were presented in Chapter III. A few words about what happened, specifically, to the 45 members of our sample--will provide a qualitative setting for the more abstract and analytic material to follow.

Welfare office records of 42 of these 45 participants in WIN were reviewed in the summer of 1971, a year after the second interview. The records of the other three were not immediately available. The path through the program for these women began with a referral to WIN by a welfare caseworker. A medical examination followed. Where needed, child care was arranged in an approved facility. Between two and thirteen months elapsed between referral and entrance into a three week general orientation course. A basic education course and/or other non-vocational training might follow this orientation. Finally, the trainee entered vocational training. Some passed through all of these steps. Others moved directly from WIN acceptance into vocational training. At the time of the review participants had been carried on the rolls in an "active" status for from three to sixty-eight weeks. Twenty-three weeks was average. The length of time a trainee remained in a particular phase or the frequency of training sessions during parts of that calendar period are not reflected in these overall calendar figures.

By the summer of 1971, eighteen months, on the average, after their entry, six of the 42 were still participating in the program (four of these six were being trained for clerical positions and two for employment in beauty culture). One woman, learning to be clerk was originally referred to WIN in April, 1969. In July, 1969, she started the training program. As of August, 1971, she was either still in training or her termination had not been recorded. Of course, a woman may enter training, drop out and start again. This would draw out the training period. As an instance, another mother was referred in May, 1969, and officially started training in April, 1970. Yet, it was April, 1971, before she actually started vocational training for a clerical position.

Six of the 42 had terminated, completed training, and were placed in jobs (two were employed as hairdressers, two as clerk-typists, one as an electrical assembler and one as a presser). Two more terminated before completing training to accept jobs. The remaining 28 terminated for various other reasons. (Six of them terminated for administrative reasons: they had moved from the area or, after further checking, failed to meet eligibility requirements. Eleven dropped out because of personal problems, such as health, pregnancy or family responsibilities. Ten are listed as "de facto" refusals to continue. One refused to accept employment.) The record thus shows job placement of eight women but does not indicate how many remain at the jobs nor how many non-placed terminees later found jobs on the strength of their WIN experience.

Participants are Levelheaded

We return to an earlier step--the decision which turns a nominee into a participant. While the role of personal interaction in the nominating process is questionable, the participation between caseworker and client in this second decision is significant. Intuitively, the image we conjure of the first instance is of a caseworker in the county welfare office poring over lists of eligibles, checking names for referral. In the second case, the list of nominees is available and we imagine a face-to-face discussion, a counseling session, in which the welfare mother meets a WIN counselor at the local office of the State Employment Service. They discuss the types of training offered, the benefits and difficulties associated with training and problems of home and child care. Despite the possibility of compulsion, assignment to training depends, in practice, on the consent of the potential trainee.

Factors influencing entrance into training for those already nominated will be measured by comparing the 84 welfare mothers who, though assigned to WIN, still remained nominees at the time of the second interview, with the 45 assignees who initiated training, the participants.

Participation in WIN should be negatively correlated with child dependency. The priority list of the WIN manual provides for this. In fact, women with pre-school children might be screened out at the nominating stage. If women with children are nominated, what is the likelihood that they will participate?

Two aspects of dependency may be considered: that due to many children and that due to small children. The manual does not provide for deferment of those with many children--if they are not pre-schoolers. The sheer number of children reflects the "weight" of the household. The problem of infant care arises because of the age rather than the number of children. The typical household in this sample has 3.3 children, with some having but one child while others have as many as nine children (I-65). Of assignees with one or two children, 45 percent (58) participated in WIN. Among those with three or more children 27 percent (71) did so ($x^2=4.61$, df=1, $p < .05$). Clearly, the mother of a large household was less likely to enter training.

The second test divides the households in which there was at least one child under six from those with no child so young (I-63). Among assignees with young children, 32 percent (90) participated. Among those having no small children 39 percent (38) did so (x^2=n.s.). Having small children is unrelated to entrance into training despite the fact that this is the contingency allowed for in the program.

Both of these factors are correlated with the age of the mother. The greater likelihood of assigning mothers of fewer children may be a consequence of the fact that these mothers are younger and, as we found above, the agency leans toward assigning younger mothers. If youth of the mother is the factor, however, more mothers of young children would be assigned. This is not the case. The issue is more complex.

What about welfare mothers who married at a young age? Age at marriage is ordinarily associated with family building variables. Those who marry at a younger age, by and large, eventually have more children than their later marrying sisters. In general, those who marry young are most committed to the homemaker role. According to this logic, they should be less likely to enter training. Here, however, the young marrieds are also young divorcees or separated. Their marriages were early but did not work. Fertility patterns in this group seem to differ from the usual ones. In the present sample, 49 percent (63) of those who married when eighteen or younger and 40 percent (207) of those who married later have had more than one child (V-73) (x^2=n.s.). The additional fertility of the younger marrieds is in the expected direction, but not striking.

WIN participation is inversely correlated with age at first marriage. Among those WIN assignees who were under 18 when they married for the first time, 46 percent (37) became WIN participants. Among those who married at eighteen or nineteen, 32 percent (22) and of those marrying at age 20 or older, 14 percent (28) became participants (x^2=35.0, df=2, $p<.001$). This negative correlation seems to hold even when restricted to women currently caring for children under six. In that case, the proportions of assignees who participate in WIN are, in the order given above, 42 percent (12), 34 percent (32) and 19 percent (16) (x^2=n.s.). Though the numbers are too small for valid tests, the direction of the relationship remains. Age at marriage is more important than the age of the children in predicting WIN participation. Age at marriage does not refer to age at the time of the study--that is, their age when WIN training was initiated.

We are accustomed to associating early marriage with traditional society as, for instance, in India. In that case, a new unit is formed within the extended family and begins early reproduction. Thus, early marriage is associated with high fertility. Here the early marriages are youthful breakaways. Marriage is the device of the young for establishing independence of the parents. The couple founds its own nuclear residential unit and, perhaps, has the baby which may have precipitated the marriage. High fertility does not follow because the aim was adult independence. When such marriages terminate, the woman may seek to strike out independently again. Entrance into WIN for occupational training offers an opportunity for having her own net of social relations. This would explain why those who married young are the more likely to participate in WIN. A way of life is at issue.

Young women, those with the fewest children, and the independents who married young, are the most likely to enter training. Adding to this, the fact that size of family is a more significant variable than age of dependent children suggests that committment to family life is at the core of the matter. The mother who bears many children is indicating her committment to the traditional mother role. A large number of children is not simply a situational factor keeping the mother from entering training or from moving into the occupational world. Her very life style commitment includes having many children. When there are more candidates than "slots", the WIN agency would not be motivated to refer these traditionally oriented mothers to the program.

Young, independent women committed to small families are modernizers. For them, entrance into training and occupations is liberating, a way to self-realization. They ask to be admitted. The agency complies and allocates the few "slots" it has to them.

Arguing that the issue is one of life style, is a rather holistic way of stating the case. A life style may be dissected into its component attitudes. Attitudes may be examined one by one to ascertain how attitudes of the welfare mothers might influence the negotiations with the WIN agency and, as a result, her placement as a participant. The very fact of a correlation between client attitudes and participation is evidence that some kind of negotiation, explicit or implicit, takes place.

The attitude toward earned income is a crucial one. The effectiveness of a money incentive is at the heart of the program. However, what kind of incentive is money? Economists view money as a generalized medium of exchange. This presumes it to be a summary index of a wider range of meanings. The meaning of money is multidimensioned. Dimensions of meaning differ in salience for various participants. A scale was constructed to measure attitude toward one set of dimensions of the meaning of money, that of promoting better social relations, prestige in the community and social power (III-53). The item requested agreement or disagreement with the statements that the "more money a person has the more friends will think of him", "the better his social life will be" and "the more influence he will have on others." A summary score classified the levels of importance given this social relational meaning of money. Of assignees for whom money is relatively unimportant, 48 percent (21) participated in WIN training. Of those who attach a modest importance to money, 3 percent (74) and of those attaching high importance to money 38 percent (34) participated (x^2=n.s.). The results are not statistically significant, but are suggestive that those attaching low importance to money as a way of improving social relations, despite the program's assumption, are more likely to enter training. The logic is fundamental. Those who participate in WIN are precisely those who feel that money is not the way to social happiness. An occupation opens the way to social standing. A drive for money, as such, may even be dysfunctional in this respect.

In truth, the WIN trainee is asked to be ascetic, to give up pleasures in order to enter the occupational world. Those who seek money as an instrument of social power know that WIN training may raise their earnings but not to the level needed to exert social influence. People interested in money as a source of prestige and influence would become entrepreneurial.

These mothers would not, of course, participate in WIN were no subvention available or were their earnings taxed at 100 percent. Money, however, functions less as an "incentive" than as a facilitating stipend--as does a fellowship for college students.

Perhaps this social meaning of money is irrelevant to low income mothers. Money is an incentive insofar as it assures sustenance. These women are not fiscally irresponsible. A practical, down-to-earth interest in money is positively correlated with participation. Respondents were asked whether they believed they would earn more by working than they could on welfare (II-68) (punches 1-4 mapped "would earn more by working"). Of assignees who believed work to be more financially advantageous than welfare, 43 percent (87) participated. Of those who thought training would not change their income or might even lower it, 17 percent (41) participated (x^2=8.0, df=1, $p < .01$). In a formal sense, the expectation of income was "run" as the independent or "causal" variable on the assumption that participation is chosen in the light of the expected income. The logic of the relation, however, is not that clear. Possibly, those who intend to work rationalize this intent by asserting that they believe they will earn more. This is a socially legitimate explanation--easier to articulate than saying that they want to work because they find that a life style incorporating an occupation is, for social reasons, more congenial. Nevertheless, participation in WIN and the expectation of increased income are associated. Turning to the substance of the question, however, we find that the expected increase tends to be in the range of $20-$30 a week. These earnings are not so high or so "flashy" as to be reflected in a prestige measure. The new life style includes a modest increase in income.

Welfare mothers look forward to social mobility as a result of effort. Their anticipation is that their children's lot will be better. Welfare mothers were asked about the level of education that they would like to see their children attain (IV-44). Better than two-thirds of the mothers say they would like to see their children graduate from college. This aspiration is hardly realistic but it is not idle. Among assignees aspiring for college graduation for their children, 38 percent (90) participated in WIN. Among those with a lower educational aspiration, 28 percent (39) participated (x^2=n.s.). The difference, while not statistically significant, is suggestive. WIN participation may not be related to the more flamboyant aspirations of achieving status through money but is related to an expectation of a modest income increment and to long range mobility aspirations. The WIN participants are conforming to the American achievement ethic.

Anticipatory Socialization to the Work Ethic

Work Life Style as a Negotiating Posture

WIN training is not simply training in task performance but is intended to resocialize welfare mothers to the achievement ethic underlying willingness to work. It appears that, even prior to training, there is an affinity between such an achievement ethic and entrance into training. This is a form of "anticipatory socialization" for the work role. The order of events asserted here is significant. Those already committed to the ethic of achievement seem to select themselves for participation in WIN. More precisely, women with this orientation have a better chance of convincing the WIN agency that they should be participants. Aside from any training effect, WIN is assisting some welfare mothers to move more rapidly in their chosen direction. For them, it is a culturally reinforcing factor. On the other hand, those mothers not so oriented are less likely to participate in the program. Implicitly or explicitly they communicate this to the agency.

The concept of anticipatory socialization presumes the idea of intent--whether conscious or subconscious. Movement towards work and acceptance of a work ethic is documented by initial positive attitudes toward work. Respondents were asked whether, in the next six months, they thought they would be looking for a new job or be working at some present job, that is, if they expected to be working at all or did not expect to be in the labor force (II-70). Better than half the assignees thought they would be working in six months. Among assignees who anticipated working, 40 percent (76) participated in WIN while of those not intending to work, 28 percent(53) participated ($x^2=1.715$, df=1, $.1 < p < .2$). These results are not statistically significant, but the apparent positive association between intention to work and WIN participation is not surprising. Negatively speaking, those who do not forsee themselves as working manage not to be appointed to WIN training. Slots are more likely to be assigned to those initially positively oriented toward work--a fact which, at once, increases the chances of program success and contributes to the candidates' goal. That the mothers' initial expectation to work is correlated with subsequent participation in WIN reflects, in some measure, the welfare mother's control over entrance.

The welfare mother's initial attitudes toward work must, in some way, by considered by the agency. From the above example, it is not possible to extricate a motivational factor (whether they hope to go to work) from a situational factor (whether they can work). A mother may reply that she does not expect to work because she is an invalid. A series of previously tested scales* developed as predictors of motivation to work were included in the Wave I questionnaires. Though these scales were created for use with a working class population, by and large male, they were included here on the assumption that the structure of work attitudes, the meaningfulness of the items, among welfare women would be similar, even if the distributions of attitudes would differ. A scale which the author describes as measuring "motivation to work" included items such as "work gives me something to do", "I was able to make friends on my job" and "it makes me feel good after a hard day's work" (III-18). Of those who scored low, 28 percent (36), of those medium, 33 percent (46), and of those high, 43 percent (46) participated in WIN training ($x^2=2.7$, df=2, $.2 < p < .3$). The association falls below statistical significance, but is in the expected direction. The manifest content of the items suggests that high scorers have a comfortable image of themselves in relation to work. When work is a positive object of interest, the welfare mother is more likely to direct herself into WIN.

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*These scales were taken from Bernard P. Indik's The Motivation to Work (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University, n.d.)

This finding is supported through a reverse test with a measure of "motivation to avoid work". The manifest content of this scale does not refer to a rejection of work or to discomfort in the work situation. Rather, the items refer to a comfortable image of the self in a leisure or subvented existence. Items asked whether they would work if they could live comfortably on inherited money or whether they would be fed up with themselves if they did not work (III-22). Forty-nine percent (35) of those scoring low, 34 percent (47) of those scoring medium and 26 percent (46) of those scoring high in motivation to avoid work participated in WIN training ($x^2=4.793$, df=2, $.05 < p < .10$). These findings are near statistical significance and reverse the correlations with WIN participation in the above complementary scale. When leisure is a positive object of interest, welfare mothers are less likely to involve themselves in WIN. Thus, a prior positive attitude toward work settings and rejection of a supported leisure existence increase the chances of becoming a WIN participant.

The Indik scales include a summary composite variable called "gross motivation to work" (III-39) (Appendix B includes the formula for this composite measure). The proportion of assignees who participated in the WIN training varied from 26 percent (80) for those with low, 40 percent (25) for those with medium and 58 percent (24) for those with high gross motivation to work ($x^2=7.892$; df=2, $p < .02$). This measure is a good predictor. This scale does not predict employment as well as it does WIN participation. Actual employment is a function of situational factors in addition to work attitudes.

Indik items refer to work as a source of meaning in one's life (something to do all day, feeling good after a hard day's work), as contributing to the individual's sense of importance, that is, supportive of an ego ideal (feel important, do not feel ashamed), as part of a social self image (make friends on the job, neighbors think more of me) as well as referring to intensity of the desire to work and optimism about obtaining work (I'll take any decent job, I will find a job if I try hard enough). These are social attitudes or self attitudes rooted in social relations. The adoption of these attitudes is the fibre of anticipatory socialization for work. They, too, are part of a life style.

Personality and Social Sources of a Work Life Style

The above findings document the relation of anticipatory socialization in an achievement ethic to participation in WIN training. Standing behind this relation, however, is the question of what leads some women, apparently self-propelled, to begin to acculturate to the world of work. The measures of such acculturation, orientation to money, mobility and motivation or interest in work, are measures of attitude. An attitude is a predisposition to behave. It states a relation between a tendency attributable to a person, his motive or drive, and an object outside of him, such as the work situation, toward which his tendency is directed. The sources of such an attitude may be sought both in personality factors, the context of the drive or motive, and in the social milieu, the context of roles defining the meaning of work. Personality and social milieu factors constitute the mechanisms producing anticipatory socialization.

Personality factors function both to prepare the individual to seek training and play a part in convincing the agency to channel the candidate, into the program or away from it. The negotiated result is probably accomplished less through rational argument than through subtle personality demonstrations. It will be recalled that social outgoingness is the only aspect of personality found to be related to assignment. In the nominating decision, which did not necessarily take place in a face-to-face situation, personality could not play a strong role. Becoming a participant, however, is more likely to involve such interaction. The signs of personality attributes provided in the figure drawings will again be helpful. The placement of the figure drawing on the page (I-17) has been taken by clinical psychologists as a measure of social outgoingness or extroversion. A figure placed to the left is interpreted as revealing a retreatist personality. The individual placing it to the right is presenting a more outgoing self image. Among those who drew figures toward the right side of the page, 53 percent (32) participated in the program, but of those whose figures were left displaced 29 percent (97) participated (x^2=5.67, df=1, $p < .02$).

Assuming the validity of the interpretation of this indicator, it is not clear why those who are modernizing their roles should be more outgoing than the traditionalists. One possibility, with general implications, is that, in this culture, with its pressures to become involved outside of the family, there may well be an association between this characteristic of personality and becoming so involved--perhaps, specifically, related to the psychology of the female in American society. In all events, a social outgoingness would impress an agency worker that the candidate would succeed in work while retreatists could well discourage the agency from pressing the issue.

Attitudes toward the self in relation to the world complement attitudes toward the self as such. The self-oriented cognate of outgoingness is self confidence, a belief that one can accomplish his goals. In addition to the drawing, respondents were asked to write stories--about the person they had drawn, who would now be assumed to be at work and in response to three TAT-like pictures. (See Appendix B for pictures, illustrative stories and coding instructions) Each of the four stories was scored according to whether the central character was depicted as helpless or self-confident (not helpless) in the face of his problem (I-24, 32, 40, 48). The first story, written in response to the request to "tell a story about the person you have just drawn; assume that this person is working", reflects a gloss on the individual's own self image in relation to work. The second picture shows somebody waiting to be counseled or applying for a job. The third depicts someone being instructed or supervised in a job. The fourth shows an older woman leaving or greeting a small child in a residential doorway. Table IV-2 shows the proportion of assignees who participated in the WIN program according to whether the main character in each of the four stories was helpless or self confident.

TABLE IV-2*

PROPORTION OF ASSIGNEES WHO BECAME WIN PARTICIPANTS ACCORDING TO WHETHER THEIR STORIES PROJECT HELPLESSNESS OR SELF-CONFIDENCE (in percents)

STORY STIMULUS	HELPLESSNESS	SELF-CONFIDENCE	
Figure Drawing of Draw-A-Person Test	19 (36)	40 (90)	$x^2=4.837$ df=1 $p< .05$
Sketch of Woman Awaiting Interview	25 (87)	55 (42)	$x^2=10.833$ df=1 $p<.001$
Sketch of Worker or Trainee Being Instructed	30 (64)	40 (65)	$x^2=1.509$ df=1 $.2<p<.3$
Sketch of Older Woman Leaving Waving Child	27 (41)	37 (86)	$x^2=1.335$ df=1 $.2<p<.3$

*Reading horizontally across the top row, this table is to be read as follows: One hundred and twenty-six (36+90) respondents (all of whom had been nominated to WIN) who wrote stories about the figure drawing were scored on the variable of "helplessness/self-confidence". Of the 36 whose characterizations were scored helpless, 19 percent participated in the WIN program. The other 81 percent of the same 36 persons remained as non-participant nominees at the time of the second interview. Of the 90 respondents who were scored self-confident, 40 percent participated in WIN. By inference, the other 60 percent of those scored self-confident did not participate during that year. The interpretation is made on the basis of the 21 percentage point difference between 19 percent and 40 percent. The x^2 test tells us that a difference so large would be found by chance only five times out of 100 if that difference did not exist in reality. Thus, the relation is considered significant statistically.

In all four cases, those scored as self confident are more likely to participate in the WIN program. The differences are not statistically significant in the last two cases, but the proportions differ in the expected direction. In fact, the magnitude of difference in the first two cases attests to the strength of this psychological indicator as a predictor of WIN participation.

The first story, based on a figure drawing, a projected self-image, may well project the dimension of helplessness/self confidence, a relatively general personality trait. The succeeding three pictures are situationally focused around a job or counseling interview, work or training supervision and leaving a child at home to go to work (a common theme in response to the third sketch). As a whole, these responses suggest that a welfare mother with self confidence in situations prototypical of WIN training, if nominated, is more likely to become a WIN participant.

The helplessness/self confidence score in each of these last three cases may be situational. The respondent may feel helpless in job counseling relations but not in relation to her children. A woman may feel helpless in a work situation and confident in a homemaker role. Her feelings about housework whether she likes it or resists it indicate her interest in the homemaker role. No relation exists between the helplessness/confidence scores and this measure of the homemaker role (IV-45). At the same time, her interest in child care, as measured by a preference for personally caring for her children or delegating that responsibility (IV-51), is also unrelated to helplessness/self confidence scores. Were a general personality trait tapped, it might well be expected to manifest itself in relation to the homemaker role. Thus, apparently, since the content of the pictures referred to the work situation, this variable tends to be relatively specific to work. Anticipatory socialization for work does, however, seem driven by a specifically work oriented engine--confidence in the self as a worker.

Attitudes of others toward oneself as a worker may also contribute to anticipatory socialization to the work role. Welfare mothers' assessment of neighborhood attitudes toward them as workers was measured by their responses to the statement "I think that neighbors, family and friends and other people think more of me when I hold down a steady job" (III-17). Among those who did not think their neighbors care whether they worked, 30 percent (73) participated in WIN, whereas of those who did think their neighbors and friends care, 42 percent (55) participated ($x^2=1.877$, df=1, $.1 < p < .2$). Though short of statistical significance, it is reasonable to hold that either perception of community attitudes is a factor affecting participation or the decision to participate is rationalized by assuming community approval. In either instance, the perception of social approval of work is associated with commitment to work. Those intending to participate in WIN move themselves into social settings in which more women work and fewer are on welfare. They, thus, help assure social support for their own anticipatory socialization. This will be documented in the next section.

If such positive attitudes encourage their socialization toward work, do attitudes disapproving of welfare also encourage them to choose WIN training? A common notion is that welfare mothers are motivated to enter the program to escape the penalizing attitudes of others toward them. Respondents were asked whether they thought their children were likely to be teased or discriminated against because they were on welfare (III-47). Do they feel their children are stigmatized. Thirty-five percent (34) of assignees who thought their children were subject to teasing and 35 percent (95) of those who did not think so became participants. Thus, perceived stigmatization of their children does not influence the mothers to participate in WIN.

A two item scale was designed to measure whether they felt themselves stigmatized by being on welfare. Did they feel that others looked down on welfare mothers and were they embarrassed in front of their families for being on welfare (III-52)? Among assignees with high perceived stigma, 34 percent (32) participated, while among those experiencing less stigma, 35 percent (97) participated. Even if they feel stigmatized themselves, it does not influence their participation.

This is not to say that welfare mothers do not experience stigma but that such feelings are not related to their interest in WIN. Participation is related to the perception of socially supportive attitudes regarding work. It is not related to penalizing attitudes regarding welfare. The meaning of this is that work and welfare are two different attitude domains. For the traditionalists, welfare stigma could as well reflect on the woman's ability to hold a husband and press her toward marriage. Participating in a work training program is but one way of dealing with welfare.

The WIN legislation has associated work and welfare as a complementary pair of social statuses. Their complementarity rests in their being two alternative relations between a family and the economy. That they are alternatives is a function of the way our particular economy is conceptualized. Presumably, if positive supportive attitudes of society toward work encourage working, negative attitudes toward work would discourage working. Getting off welfare does not necessarily correspond to going to work.

Anticipatory socialization to the achievement ethic does not simply appear full blown. The analysis here touches on its roots in only a most superficial manner. The data, however, are sufficient to indicate that socialization to the work role is rooted both in personality predispositions and in attitudes of significant others. These are not separate findings. Clearly, a woman who, by working, is attitudinally and behaviorally conforming to the orientation of people she considers important will have a sense of self confidence about herself as a worker.

Modernizing and Traditional Life Styles

Women who participate in WIN also participate in other communal institutions. For example, they are more likely to engage in political activity. The questionnaire asked when they had last voted (IV-38), allowing for the fact that some were too young to be enfranchised. Among those who voted in the most recent election, 48 percent (44) participated in the program, while among those who had never voted or whose last vote was earlier, 31 percent (61) participated ($x^2=2.91$, df=1, $p < .10$). This, too, is an aspect of the work life style. The life style pattern into which WIN participation fits is grounded in openness to the broader community. Voting is one way of extending one's interests. Working is another way of looking to the world outside the home. These are elements of a modernizing life style.

Welfare mothers are a heterogeneous assemblage. A low level of income, matrifocal households and welfare dependency are their situational common denominators. There are many ways to be poor, matrifocal and dependent financially on the state. Some are poor, alone and dependent because they lack the intellectual competency and psychological stability to fend for themselves and, without relatives, or a husband to shield them, float haplessly. These are scattered, lonely souls forming no group--not even identifiable in terms of some common cultural orientation. Others, though they, too, do not constitute a group, are marked by common cultural postures. Some are traditionalists in the way they think about home and family and the relation of their family to the economy. They think in terms of a mother committed to the homemaker role. Others are modernizing. These mothers would as well limit their role in the home and assume an occupational status.

The effect of any program will depend on these characteristics of the target group. A training and employment program would not serve a population intellectually incompetent to respond to it. Cultural orientations which interpret the program and social groups which respond to it, forming supportive or resistive social relations influence the outcomes of the program. After all, a program is a set of social acts. The nature of the response to these acts, that is, the outcomes of the program, depend on the ongoing set of social acts which they engage.

The terms traditionalists and modernizers refer, not to social groups, but to aggregates of welfare women having in common not only a set of attributes but also a common cultural orientation, common ways of viewing their situations and common attitudes about dealing with those situations. It is unlikely that a stable social group could form which would include both traditionalists and modernizers. Among the traditionalists and modernizers, however, groups no doubt do form. These groups would be oriented to neighborhoods or around church activities, social entertainment cliques and political activism. The failure of program information to diffuse among welfare mothers was evidence of the lack of any broad group formation. This study was not designed to locate such groups but a grasp of them is necessary for understanding the social mechanisms through which the WIN program operates.

The agency, the gatekeeper between program and welfare mother, initially draws up a list of WIN eligibles. In doing so, the caseworker is guided by external attributes such as age, size of family and, perhaps, race. Those whose attributes promise potential success are more likely to be selected. Agency officials seem insensitive to signs of competence and psychological stability, though these factors, too, are tied to potential success. The decision to assign to training certain ones among these eligibles is more dependent on a face-to-face negotiation. Life style, cultural orientation, become apparent in this decision. The welfare mother communicates to the caseworker her potential for success in the training program. Since candidates outnumber "slots" the agency allows mothers to self-select.

A widespread assumption, which is written into the legislation, is that child dependency, having pre-school children, is a principal barrier to program participation. The evidence indicates, however, that participation is more a function of having many children than of having pre-schoolers. Having pre-schoolers, by itself, may simply indicate where the mother is in the family life cycle. If she leans toward a modernizing life style, child care centers can free her of responsibilities for pre-school children and permit her to enter training. A mother may bear many children because she is already committed to a traditional life style. Her self image is tied to home and family. She will resist assignment. The agency perceives this and tends not to press her into an occupational role. Of course, the simple economic inefficiency included in community child care for large families must be compelling in this case.

The modernizers may already signal their intent by an early marriage which functions to secure independence of the parental home. Work represents a net of desirable social relations and is a door to social mobility. The Indik scales reflect their understanding of the achievement ethic. Large incomes or the grasp for social power through money are not significant motives for these mothers. Practical women, they work to increase their earnings to meet basic consumption requirements. Their mobility aspirations are long range, as indicated by hopes for the education of their children.

These aspects of anticipatory socialization to work must surface in their negotiation with the agency. A personal outgoingness and self confidence, specifically oriented to an occupational setting and supported by attitudes of their friends, must inspire confidence in the agency representative and earn them an appointment to WIN training. Not surprisingly, the interest in modernizing, in becoming part of the world of work, is a part of a more general extension of horizons. They are also more likely to vote, to become part of the political process.

A compact called WIN training is concluded between women such as these and the WIN agency. By working with this minority, the agency improves its chances of success. It has, in fact, tailored the legislated program not only to meet local and regional exigencies, but to make it workable in terms of social realities at the operating level. For some women, the program offers a chance at social mobility. The traditionalists, are for the moment, deferred from the program and left in the limbo of the nominee status. Their welfare payments continue while they tend their families. The next section turns to an examination of the effects of the program.

Effects of WIN: Expected and Unexpected

Social Effects May Precede Their Cause

The Work Incentive Program is instituted by the government with specified ends in view. Essentially, it is hoped that some part of the population will be released from welfare dependency to become self-supporting. The instrumentality is to provide situational release for the welfare mother in the form of child care and a subvention, partly in cash, partly in service to enable her to enter training, upgrade her skills and claim a viable wage. Economic self sufficiency should, in turn, contribute to family stability and thus, indirectly reduce delinquency. Additional outcomes may not always be explicit in the legislation. By reducing the claim on public assistance, government budgets will be freed for alternative allocations or the need for tax revenue will be reduced. At the same time, the program will contribute to increasing the pool of semi-skilled manpower--both in services and manufacturing. This would stabilize wage rates. Having larger incomes, workers would maintain their homes, thus halting the deterioration of housing and the formation of slums.

These are but a few of the possible outcomes. WIN is not the only way these results might be pursued. A program might reduce welfare dependency directly by trying to increase rates of marriage, to maintain family stability, or by developing public works projects. The aims that were selected and the means proposed reflect the conceptualization of the problem in political circles. It would be fortuitous if the diagnosis and the proposed remedy were to coincide with successful therapy if only because a diagnosis in a political setting is dictated by social forces somewhat removed from the locus of the presumed pathology.

The notion of an "effect" is borrowed from physical science. Its image is of an event occurring after a "cause" is introduced and which would not have occurred without that cause. In a social situation, the "effect" may even precede the "causal" event. Our discussion of anticipatory socialization illustrated this possibility. In fact, to the extent that modernizers are using WIN to catalyze changes which they are pursuing, the notion of effect becomes fuzzy. It is better to speak of the "role" WIN plays in the ongoing system of action.

The effect of the program on the lives of the participants, the role it plays in their lives is but one of many. To assess this role of the WIN program, we will compare the 1969 and 1970 responses of the welfare mothers deferred from, the nominated to and participants in the WIN program. In the language of experimental design, program participants are the "experimental" group. The deferred and the nominees constitute two "control" groups. As explained at the beginning of this chapter, they are not "control" groups in the sense that they are matched on attributes with the experimental group, but they are controls in the sense that they passed the year in essentially the same environment as did the experimental group. The single, clear exception is that they did not experience WIN training. The program would, presumably, not have had any influence on those deferred--unless it was through their direct or indirect relation with people involved with the program or as a result of any changes it might have induced in the general community climate. Since, most of the deferred had not ever heard of the program, its influence was probably quite minimal. The nominees would have been influenced, at least, by the announcement that they were selected. (Of course, as indicated above, the fact that they were selected implies that they differ in certain attributes from the deferred). The selection of participants from among all the assignees is influenced by situational factors, work attitudes and some components of personality. These initial differences, as well as WIN training, might account for terminal differences between participants and nominees. Differences that appear among WIN participants as measured in 1969 and again in 1970 which exceed any differences among nominees over the same time period may, in a broad sense, be attributed to the program. Differences in the changes of the deferred and the nominees or the deferred and all assignees may be attributed to selective factors.

Changes in Social Relations With or Without Income Change

In the long run, WIN training should enable its beneficiaries to increase their income. This need not, of course, be apparent from the experience of the year in which training takes place, since the training, like all education, may imply a deferment of job opportunities. The following table shows the effect of participation on change in family income (II-29). Total family income includes the welfare payment as well as amounts earned by the members of the household.

TABLE IV-3

EFFECT OF WIN PARTICIPATION ON INCOME:
WELFARE MOTHERS IN VARYING
WIN STATUSES WITH INCOMES OVER $330/MO.
(in percents)

WIN STATUS	1969	1970
Deferred	49 (231)	59 (235)
Nominees	45 (83)	54 (84)
Participants	31 (45)	53 (45)

$x^2=4.54$*(participants)	$x^2=5.46$* (all others)
df=1	df=1
$p < .05$	$p < .02$

*The x^2 on the left tests the significance of the change between the dates among participants alone. The x^2 on the right tests the change between the dates among the deferred and nominees combined.

Of course, income rose for nearly everyone over the year due to inflation. Those who entered WIN training had the lowest proportion of families with incomes exceeding $330/month in 1969. This may be attributable to the number of small families and, thus, smaller welfare payments, among them. During the year, 22 percent of WIN participant families moved into the higher income category. At the same time, the proportion of deferred in this category increased by 10 percentage points and the proportion of nominees increased by seven percentage points. The financial situation of WIN participant families improved proportionately more than did that of the others during the year. WIN participants, in fact, reached parity with the others. Because of their smaller families, this meant a higher per-capita income.

Does this increase reflect an increased subvention of these families by the WIN program during the training period or were adult earnings increased. To answer this question, the welfare and earned components of income will be examined individually. Table IV-4, Part 1, shows the proportion in each category receiving $310 or more per month in welfare payments during the months preceding each of the two interviews (II-14). Part 2 shows the proportion of families earning over $10 during those months.

TABLE IV-4

WELFARE INCOME ACCOUNTED FOR BY WIN STATUS

Part 1
Proportion Receiving Over $310/month from Welfare

WIN STATUS	1969	1970
Deferred	29 (236)	34 (236)
Nominees	24 (84)	24 (84)
Participants	11 (45)	18 (45)

change 1969-1970: x^2=n.s. (participants)
x^2=n.s. (all others)

Part 2
Proportion with Adult Earnings Over $10/month

WIN STATUS	1969	1970
Deferred	26 (236)	35 (231)
Nominees	24 (84)	41 (81)
Participants	16 (45)	30 (44)

$x^2=2.31$ (participants)	$x^2=5.45$ (nominees)	$x^2=5.31$ (deferred)
df=1	df=1	df=1
$.1 < p < .2$	$p < .05$	$p < .05$

In 1969 and 1970, WIN participants had the smallest proportion receiving cash benefits in excess of $310/month. During the year, a few families in each WIN status received an increase in welfare benefits sufficient to place them in the higher category. None of these changes are statistically significant. Welfare benefits might account for only a small part of the increase in income in all WIN statuses.

The proportion who earned more than $10/month during the months preceding the 1969 and 1970 interviews increased by 9 percent among the deferred, 17 percent among the nominees and 14 percent among those who entered training. The first two differences are statistically significant. (That a 14 percent difference is not statistically significant, that a 9 percent difference is, reflects the influence of the number of cases on the x^2 computation.) Thus, the increase in income is, in some measure, accounted for by increased likelihood of earning. Increased earnings are not restricted to participants but enjoyed by both the nominated and deferred. Apparently, the income change between the years reflects a combination of various letters--most not significant by themselves. The increase among WIN participants may be due, in part, to earnings but may also be due to a cumulation of smaller items--perhaps a little more child support or a little higher receipt of gifts. It is significant that WIN participants are not likely to change their income level any more than their deferred and nominated sisters.

This income measure reflects any remunerative work during the month prior to the interview. It is telling to look specifically at the comparative labor force statuses at these times (II-69). Table IV-5 shows the proportion in each WIN status in the labor force, either employed or unemployed, and out of the labor force.

TABLE IV-5

LABOR FORCE STATUS AMONG THOSE WITH VARYING WIN STATUSES IN 1969 AND 1970 (in percents)

EMPLOYMENT STATUS	WIN STATUS					
	Deferred		Nominees		Participants	
	1969	1970	1969	1970	1969	1970
Employed	16	19	11	16	7	20
Unemployed	17	17	33	23	40	27
Not in Labor Force	67	64	56	61	53	53
	(236)	(236)	(84)	(84)	(45)	(45)

There is no change in labor force status among the deferred between the summers of 1969 and 1970. Nominees for WIN seemed to reflect a relatively random movement. A few nominees dropped out of the labor force and, among those in the labor force, a few more were employed. The interesting change is among the participants. In 1969, 47 percent were in the labor force. The figure was composed of 40 percent unemployed and 7 percent employed. A year later, with the same fraction in the labor force, 27 percent were unemployed and 20 percent employed--an increase of 13 percentage points in the proportion employed. The number of cases is too small for the differences to be statistically significant. It does suggest, though, that the program did not increase the proportion in the labor force. This summary result does not, of course, reveal whether as many left the labor force as entered it during the year. Within the labor force category, there was growth in the ratio of employed to unemployed. This increased employment may simply reflect the WIN apprentices in on the job training who are being reported as employed. The test of the program, in this respect, will be in terms of the number remaining employed over some period of time longer than this study. The increased proportion employed is not necessarily due to the training and placement activities of WIN. Those who participated, as noted above, were more employment prone. Likely, employment prone enter the program and use its agency to facilitate their finding a job. Nevertheless, it is notable that the increase in employment occurred at a time when the unemployment rate in Camden was growing.

A key to the nature of future employment, not apparent from the number employed or their momentary income, is a shift in occupational self-classification. Respondents were asked to state the highest paying job they could do (III-5). In Table IV-6, the types of occupations are presented in three categories and a residual category consisting, mainly, of maintenance service occupations.

TABLE IV-6

OCCUPATIONAL SELF CLASSIFICATION AMONG THOSE
IN EACH WIN STATUS IN 1969 AND 1970
(in percents)

HIGHEST SKILL	WIN STATUS					
	Deferred		Nominees		Participants	
	1961	1970	1969	1970	1969	1970
Personal Service	26	27	21	29	21	9
Business Service	20	21	32	24	35	25
Manual/Manufacturing	27	24	24	25	26	43
Other	27	28	23	22	18	23
	(220)	(229)	(81)	(84)	(43)	(45)

x^2=5.753 (participants), df=3, $.1 < p < .2$

Among those deferred, there is little change in occupational self-classification between 1969 and 1970. Nominees may shift from business service occupations, for instance, waitress, to personal service occupations, for instance, beautician or housekeeper. However, among participants, the proportions in both the personal service and business service categories drop while the proportion considering themselves manual laborers in manufacturing, for instance, machine operators, increased. This shift from service to industrial labor is an upgrading of skill and wage level and, most significantly, in chances for advancement. The proportion of nominees in the service occupations tends not to change. The WIN trainees move into the better paying occupations in manufacturing.

How does the occupational self image compare with reality? Table IV-7 shows occupations in which welfare mothers actually worked during the year between the interviews (IX-06). Among the deferred who worked at all during the year (69 of the 236 deferred cases), 42 percent worked in personal service. Only 10% of the 20 employed WIN trainees worked in personal service. On the other hand, 10 percent of the deferred but 40 percent of the WIN participants worked in manufacturing. Thus, actual employment is consistent with the change in occupational image. The nominees stand between the deferred and the participants in proportion in personal service and manufacturing. (Since but 20 of 45 trainees worked, this 40 percent in manufacturing represented only eight trainees. Though the differences in the table are statistically significant, any conclusions must be tentative.)

TABLE IV-7

OCCUPATIONS IN WHICH WELFARE MOTHERS IN EACH
WIN STATUS WERE EMPLOYED BETWEEN INTERVIEWS
(in percents)

WORK EXPERIENCE	WIN STATUS		
	Deferred	Nominees	Participants
Personal Service	42	33	10
Business Service	17	9	20
Manual/Manufacturing	10	24	40
Others	31	34	30
	(69)	(33)	(20)

x^2=13.370, df=6, $p < .02$

Not only were WIN trainees more likely to be employed and more likely to shift from a service to an industrial occupation, they were also more likely to hold onto a social setting of workers. Table IV-8 shows the responses in 1969 and 1970 to the question of how many friends were working full time, that is, 35 or more hours a week (IV-18).

TABLE IV-8

PROPORTION OF THOSE IN EACH WIN STATUS REPORTING
THAT MOST OF THEIR FRIENDS WORK FULL TIME
(in percents)

WIN STATUS	1969	1970
Deferred	61 (234)	47 (189)
Nominees	70 (83)	54 (71)
Participants	58 (45)	53 (36)

x^2=8.35 (deferred), df=1, $p < .01$
x^2=5.45 (nominees), df=1, $p < .02$
x^2=n.s. (participants)

In general, with the increase of unemployment during the 1969-1970 winter, the probability of associating with working women declined. The proportion of the deferred whose friendship groups consisted mostly of working women declined 14 percent over the year. Among nominees, the decline was 16 percent. Participants, however, declined but 3 percent in the proportion claiming a milieu of working women. WIN training seems to have dampened the decline among WIN trainees. The WIN program promotes such socializing with working women, partly by placing them in on the job training and providing opportunities for such associations to emerge. This would abet their positive orientation to work. Given a predisposition to socialization to the work ethic on the part of participants, the selective social environment seems to be accentuating the difference--polarizing the traditionalists and modernizers. This too is an outcome of the WIN program.

Participation in WIN is more significant in terms of its associated occupational change and in terms of the social milieu of the participants than in terms of a change in income level--at least within the time bounds of this study. Nominees experience some occupational change but to a lesser degree and different quality than do the participants. The effect is partly a result of the anticipatory socialization of the eligible. The driving force producing anticipatory socialization was located in activistic and extroverted personality dispositions of the welfare mother and in supportive attitudes in her environment.

That change in income is unimportant relative to occupational change suggests again that the crucial dimension is a changing life style. A shift from service to manufacturing occupations is not only a change in the nature of tasks performed, it is a change in social setting. Service functions imply interaction with clients of a different social rank, and subjection to the culture-ways of those clients. The worker/client relation in a service occupation being familial in character is consistent with a traditional life style. Factory work implies association at work with other workers. This setting nurtures a modernizing life style along with an image of oneself as a worker, a proletarian. Factory labor is more likely, for instance, to be unionized--and this is another source of proletarianization of the WIN participant.

The Program as Friend and Foe

The WIN program draws welfare mothers into association with fellow workers and employers. It also brings them into association with the WIN agency. As their life style changes, their relations to the welfare/work agencies and to the culture they represent do not remain unchanged. Some of these relationships, by their nature, become conflictual. Conflict is endemic to the employer-employee relation, partly because alongside their common concerns differences of interest exist. Negotiation with the WIN agency is a conflict process.

Child care services are one point of contact between the welfare mothers and the agencies. This relationship is never uncomplicated. The most understanding mother can be critical of an institution assuming some authority over her children. Respondents evaluated day care centers through a scale which included items judging the interest of day care center teachers in children, the sufficiency of day care centers to meet the needs of mothers and the cost of centers relative to the ability of a poor mother to pay (IV-11). The attitude of welfare mothers of various WIN statuses toward day care centers in 1969 and 1970 in shown in Table IV-9.

Day care centers did not become a focus of conflict. The more intensive the relation with WIN, the more positive the changes in attitude toward centers between 1969 and 1970. Those deferred did not change attitude. The nominees became slightly more approving. The proportion highly approving the centers increased most among WIN participants. None of these changes is significant, but they are suggestive. Many participants, while in training, would have had regular experience with day care centers. The day care center is their ally in freeing them from the homemaker role.

TABLE IV-9

PROPORTION OF WELFARE MOTHERS IN EACH WIN STATUS HIGHLY APPROVING OF DAY CARE CENTERS 1969 AND 1970
(in percents)

WIN STATUS	1969		1970	
Deferred	26	(233)	25	(232)
Nominees	30	(83)	37	(84)
Participants	30	(44)	44	(45)

all x^2=n.s.

If day care centers are approved because they assist the participant along her chosen path, the job training agency should be even more roundly appreciated. Puzzling, though, it seems, at first, this is not the case. Welfare mothers' assessments of the worthwhileness of job training is measured by their acceptance of statements such as the following: people who complete job training are able to find jobs in areas in which they are trained; training courses are offered for jobs people are interested in; the training allowances are adequate; and their friends look up to them if they go into training (IV-41). The questions were asked about job training programs in general since those deferred were not likely to have heard of WIN. Agreement with all four items earned a score of 8, highly positive, and disagreement with all four earned a score of 4, the most negative attitude toward job training programs. Table IV-10 shows the proportion highly positive among those in each WIN status.

TABLE IV-10

PROPORTION HIGHLY POSITIVE ABOUT THE WORTH OF JOB TRAINING PROGRAMS ACCORDING TO WIN STATUS
(in percents)

WIN STATUS	1969		1970	
Deferred	36	(235)	29	(234)
Nominees	39	(84)	35	(83)
Participants	49	(45)	36	(45)

x^2=2.67 (deferred), df=1, $.1 < p < .2$
x^2=n.s. (nominees)
x^2=1.64 (participants), df=1, $.1 < p < .2$

The proportion showing high confidence in job training programs declined, over the year, by 7 percent among those deferred, 4 percent among nominees and by 13 percent among participants. None of these differences is statistically significant. The consistency of the direction of change suggests that the agency was becoming a generally negative symbol in the community. The participants, and the extremity of their negativism, present a dilemma. How is it that their attitudes toward work are positive while their attitudes toward the program become increasingly critical? Three explanations suggest themselves. The first is in terms of level of aspiration and would apply to all similar work training programs. Trainees are led to expect more than the programs can deliver and, therefore, become relatively dissatisfied. This would attest not to failure of the program but to a discrepancy between rhetoric and outcome. A second explanation depends on conflict theory and is most relevant to the participants. The very transition of welfare mothers from welfare to work and from service occupations to industrial occupations builds class consciousness. The program itself, an expression of the establishment, the dominant class, becomes the target of demands. Frictions with the program workers around demands are not unusual. A third explanation is that the program, by its very success, is disequilibrating. Self images, occupational images and styles of life undergo change. Mothers shift from a homemaker to an occupational role, perhaps suffering guilt for leaving their children and for enjoying the associations on the job. The program may be a lightning rod for frustrations accompanying status change.

Whatever the explanation, if the above findings are substantiated, the program seems to assume the role of antagonist. There are other facets to this. During the second interview, respondents were asked whether nonconformity with the requirements of the program would lead to sanctions (IX-15), a question not relevant to the deferred since they had not been exposed to WIN. Thirty-seven percent (83) of the nominees and 52 percent (44) of the participants thought sanctions would be invoked ($x^2=2.62$, df=1, $.1 < p < .2$). The difference, though not statistically significant, suggests that experience with the program increases the perception of it as punishing. The sanctions included in the WIN legislation are more likely to be known to the participants. They are also more likely to know that no sanctions have been invoked in Camden against welfare mothers even when they terminated training without an alibi.

The role performed by the agency as antagonist is reflected symbolically on a deeper psychological level. In the dialectic of consciousness, a positive attitude toward one's own development emerges by posturing against an adversary. Story responses to the TAT-type pictures give some insight. The second picture showed a supervisor and worker or trainee. Stories written about this picture were coded according to whether the supervisor was described primarily as a gatekeeper (who makes a decision to refer the applicant onward), a teacher (who provides information about a task), a counselor (who helps the individual with personal problems) or a disciplinarian (an enforcer of rules under threat) (I-41). Table IV-11 shows the proportions describing the supervisor as acting in the role of teacher and of disciplinarian in the successive years.

Though the relations are not statistically significant, the deferred and nominees, between 1969 and 1970, became slightly more likely to see the supervisor as a teacher. The teacher is the friendly helper, extending the student's horizons. The WIN trainees began to see her less in an instructional and more in a disciplinary role. A disciplinarian coerces the trainee or employee. Initially, the deferred, nominees and participants did not differ in their propensity to see the supervisor as disciplinarian. The participants' change is the result of their own role change. The agency environment is now coercive, antagonistic for the participants in WIN. The projection of a coercive image is not inconsistent with the active element in the personalities of participants. As life style changes, social rules change. Old bonds on self control are loosed and the changing person seeks to settle into a new form of constraint--having a foil is one way of rebuilding norms. The agency is a nearby and available foil.

TABLE IV-11

PROPORTION IN EACH WIN STATUS DESCRIBING
SUPERVISOR AS TEACHER AND AS DISCIPLINARIAN
(in percents)

SUPERVISOR'S ROLE	WIN STATUS					
	Deferred		Nominees		Participants	
	1969	1970	1969	1970	1969	1970
Teacher	35	42	32	41	38	28
Disciplinarian	39	38	46	42	44	60
All Other	26	20	22	17	18	12
	(230)	(223)	(83)	(78)	(45)	(43)

$x^2=2.23$ (among participants, change in disciplinarian/change in
df=1 all other statuses)
$.1 < p < .2$

An increasing tolerance toward welfare abuse on the part of participants reflects another aspect of the role of welfare as the antagonist. As the agency becomes a foil, a disregard for its norms becomes a way of practicing independence. Table IV-12 compares individuals in each WIN status according to their tolerance of welfare abuse (IV-60, 61, 62). Reading this table vertically shows increasing tolerance of the abuses specified in the respective items. Almost all object to receipt of welfare by an able-bodied parent who does not feel like working but three quarters of the respondents would not penalize a mother alone who felt her place is in the home. The order of seriousness of these abuses corresponds to that which would probably be assigned by the general population. Reading horizontally, neither the deferred nor the nominees changed postures on these issues during the year. The participants, however, excepting the case of the mother refusing to work, in which the difference is not statistically significant, become less tolerant of refusals to work on the part of welfare recipients. The life style of the welfare population is at issue here. Participants become more demanding with respect to work/welfare standards of welfare mothers.

TABLE IV-12

PROPORTION WHO WOULD APPROVE CONTINUING WELFARE BENEFITS UNDER VARYING CONDITIONS OF REFUSAL TO WORK
(in percents)

CONDITIONS	WIN STATUS					
	Deferred		Nominees		Participants	
	1969	1970	1969	1970	1969	1970
Parent is able bodied and does not feel like working[a]	10 (235)	5 (235)	7 (84)	6 (84)	9 (45)	0 (45)
Only mother in home and she refuses to work[b]	25 (235)	23 (235)	23 (84)	23 (84)	27 (45)	38 (45)
Only mother in home and she feels a mother's place is in the home[c]	78 (235)	72 (235)	76 (84)	76 (84)	71 (45)	58 (45)

x^2=4.18 (participants, item a), df=1, $.02 < p < .05$
x^2=12.7 (participants, item b), df=1, $p < .001$
x^2=5.43 (participants, item c), df=1, $.02 < p < .05$

When it comes to following the bureaucratic regulations of the agency, however, the results fall in the other direction. Participants become more tolerant of deceiving the agency. Table IV-13 shows the proportions who would criticize welfare recipients for violating a series of departmental regulations--being dishonest. The issues include not reporting earnings, using welfare money for liquor, "sit-ins" at the welfare office and not reporting other sources of support (IV-66, 67, 68, 70). Two points may be made. In 1969, there were almost no differences of opinion on these matters between those to be deferred, nominated or become participants. By 1970, the deferred maintained their same level of criticism. The nominees developed a greater tolerance for those who "sit-in" at welfare offices, but otherwise did not change their postures.

The participants became more tolerant in every case. They became more tolerant of those who falsify income reports, use their funds for liquor and who use pressure tactics, such as a "sit-in," at the welfare office. In the last case, receiving secret support, the magnitude of the change is statistically significant. The previous item attests that they have not become tolerant in general. They want tough standards applied to those who retain non-work life styles. They tolerate taking advantage of the system. Tolerance of non-conformity to the official norms of the system bespeaks the development of a critical consciousness. They are releasing their commitment to one set of norms and crystallizing commitment to another set. This is not due to the WIN curriculum. It would not promote dishonesty. The program selects those most prepared for mobility, for change, and offers a setting for a struggle against the establishment and against the old life style. The struggle develops a proletarian consciousness which reaches toward its own new morality. WIN is a rallying point for women bent on change. The social ramifications of rallying them extend beyond the occupational and economic designs of the program.

TABLE IV-13

PROPORTION IN EACH WIN STATUS WHO CRITICIZE WELFARE ABUSE IN FOUR SITUATIONS
(in percents)

WELFARE ABUSE SITUATIONS	WIN STATUS					
	Deferred		Nominees		Participants	
	1969	1970	1969	1970	1969	1970
Not reporting earned income[a]	70 (235)	69 (235)	57 (84)	56 (84)	62 (45)	51 (45)
Use welfare money for liquor[b]	92 (235)	94 (235)	91 (84)	91 (84)	93 (45)	84 (45)
Sit-in at welfare office[c]	48 (235)	47 (235)	49 (84)	37 (84)	49 (45)	40 (45)
Receiving secret support[d]	76 (235)	76 (235)	73 (84)	69 (84)	71 (84)	58 (45)

x^2=4.63 (participants, item d), df=1, $p < .05$

A combination of this new morality in a context of a rejection of the establishment and its morality is reflected in their religious attitudes. Questions were asked about the satisfaction they believe they get from religion (IV-34), whether they consider themselves religious (IV-33) and with what frequency they attend church (IV-30). Table IV-14 shows the responses to these items in 1969 and 1970 of women in each WIN status.

No changes in frequency of church attendance appear among those in any WIN status. The participants, however, experience an increased sense of personal religiousness and they, along with the nominees, seem to obtain increased satisfaction from religion. Here, too, there is rejection of an establishment form along with an assertion of commitment outside of the establishment. This is another aspect of the development of the proletarian consciousness among the WIN participants.

TABLE IV-14

PROPORTION IN EACH WIN STATUS ACCORDING
TO RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ON RELIGION
(in percents)

RELIGION RESPONSES	WIN STATUS					
	Deferred		Nominees		Participants	
	1969	1970	1969	1970	1969	1970
Much satisfaction from religion[a]	43 (235)	52 (235)	46 (84)	39 (84)	27 (45)	36 (45)
Consider self very religious[b]	32 (235)	33 (235)	36 (84)	33 (84)	16 (45)	31 (45)
Attend church often[c]	22 (235)	20 (235)	24 (84)	17 (84)	16 (45)	18 (45)

$x^2=7.419$ (nominees, item a), df=1, $p < .05$
$x^2=4.220$ (nominees, item c), df=1, $p < .05$
$x^2=3.658$ (participants, item a), df=1, $.2 < p < .1$
$x^2=3.267$ (participants, item b), df=1, $.2 < p < .1$

WIN Trainees Are Not Like Poor Working Mothers

In the next chapter we will compare working with welfare mothers. WIN trainees, moving from a welfare to a working status, were expected to be found somewhere on a continuum between those remaining on welfare and those working for their incomes. Not so--the WIN trainee breaks with welfare on another dimension. The working mother identifies with the main institutions of society. Her world is wider than that of the welfare mother but she is not in struggle against it. The WIN trainee becomes, in a mild sense, revolutionary. Rejection of the establishment becomes a phase in her self realization.

The WIN training draws welfare mothers who are relatively highly motivated to work. The very consideration of motivation as a criterion for appointment to training is a modification of the program, one of many adaptations to the exigencies of operations. Attributes of youth and energy earn them a place on the rosters of eligibles. They convince the agency of their promise and negotiate for participant "slots." They are modernizers, women who seek to change from a traditional family centered role to that of self providers, workers. The WIN program assists this move by becoming a rallying point for women who want to modernize. At the same time, women more traditionally oriented to a homemaker role seem to persuade the agency to delay an allocation of a training "slot" to them. The agency, short of "slots" and concerned to show successful appointees, complies.

The WIN trainees increase their earnings but not sufficiently to account for their interest in the program. Their interest is in attaining a new life style for themselves and their children. To do this, they seek escape from the traditional work settings of the service occupations by becoming production workers. To the WIN agency, they project their commitment to an achievement ethic and modest mobility aspirations. These attitudes are an outgrowth of active, outgoing personalities and are supported by associating with other women of like mind. Stigma attached to welfare matters little in the scheme of things partly because welfare and work are not antonyms in their vocabulary but rather two separate domains of existence.

They appreciate the freedom given them by day care centers, are critical of women abiding by the old welfare life styles but becomes antagonistic toward the WIN agency--seeing agency personnel as disciplinarians or even coercers. They do not approve of any unrationalized resistance to work on the part of welfare mothers but tolerate bureaucratic deception of the welfare agency. The job training program too becomes an antagonist. This struggle against the agency which is assisting them to realize their goals is only superficially paradoxical. The agency is there as a lightning rod for tensions born of life style change. Using the agency as a foil, they develop a working class consciousness which is not simply oriented to challenge of the establishment and change in the order of things, but includes a greater sensitivity to problems of meaning, a religious consciousness. As a new working class, they are not drawn to the traditional religious institutions to interpret their reality but are concerned with a new morality outside the institution.

Why do WIN participants who enter the labor force differ from their sisters who are regular members of the labor force? In part, the answer must be given in terms of self selection. The program attracts and promotes an active, independent type of modernizing woman. But, perhaps more important is the difference in the institutional mechanisms which conduct WIN trainees and working mothers into the occupational world. Working mothers obtain their status through traditional market mechanisms. They enter the traditional service occupations available to poorer women. In this process, they accept a subservient posture vis a vis their personal employers and work in a routinized fashion. The WIN graduates have been propelled from welfare to work through the agency of the polity, the government. They interact with government bureaucracy and, in the process, become politicized. They are moved into industrial occupations and develop a proletarian consciousness. At least this is the case for this small sample of WIN trainees in 1969-1970 in Camden, New Jersey.

What sparks their movement? Why do they seek to modernize, to change their life styles? A proper analysis to answer these questions would require a large sample of WIN trainees in many settings. Lacking that, we shall try to infer some elements of the process by comparing welfare mothers with working mothers. This will be done in recognition of the differences between WIN trainees and working mothers. At this point, however, the 45 WIN trainees melt into the larger body of welfare mothers. The question will simply be why is it that some women choose to work while others accept welfare--despite a remarkable similarity in their familial and economic situations.

A chapter by James Davis will "tease out" relevant variables without imposing major theoretical preconceptions. Then a chapter by Klausner will cover much the same ground but fleshing out more substantively the meanings of the differences between the welfare and working populations. Jessie Bernard rounds out the discussion by reflecting on the implications of the fact that these modernizers are women, females caught in a manpower training program.

CHAPTER V

CORRELATES OF LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION

James A. Davis

During the year between interviews, some welfare mothers worked for shorter or longer periods. Others remained entirely dependent economically. The access to earnings is but one aspect of working. The working mother steps outside of her home into the social relations which constitute an occupational situation. One approach to explaining these different behaviors is simply to examine their manifest correlates. Of course, some theoretically grounded hypotheses led to the inclusion of twelve indicators in the research instrument. One can, however, set those presuppositions aside and simply determine the statistical association between a number of those indicators and the propensity to work. This chapter does just that. The analysis in the chapter will be confined to the welfare sample alone.

The theme of this chapter is given by two cliches, "the trouble with the poor is lack of money" and "money doesn't grow on trees." While high school English teachers have taught us to avoid cliches like the plague, the root ideas are worth consideration. Bromide number one reminds us that the central problem of the AFDC mother is low income. Certainly she has plenty of other problems--family strains, personality problems, low social status, inadequate housing, etc., etc.--but from the viewpoint of social policy the key fact is that these women do not have sufficient incomes to support their children. Bromide number two leads us to focus on labor force participation. If the state is reluctant to provide the necessary funds, from where will they come? One doubts that wiser handling of their investment portfolios or loans for establishing their own businesses will have much impact on incomes in a welfare population. The obvious candidate for the women in this study is employment. In contrast to welfare recipients in general, and the aged poor specifically, the sample welfare mothers in Camden is young and relatively healthy (1). In contrast to the rural poor, the women in this study are located in the heart of the great metropolitan employment market of Eastern America.

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[1] The characteristics of this sample are a function of sampling criteria, e.g., job eligibility. Thus, the sample is not a random sample of all welfare recipients and the employment alternative is better suited to them by definition. (See Appendix A.)

Many readers will believe that it is cruel to even consider policies that would lead to more employment among these women. Others will consider it equally immoral to "leave them on the dole." Our position is that until we understand the factors involved in the employment of AFDC mothers, neither position has any realistic foundation.

Among the hundreds of variables available in this rich survey we have chosen a baker's dozen, selected on the basis of a "common sense theory" of labor force participation. The choice of a "common sense" approach is not obvious common sense. Many analysts of poverty have argued that poor people represent such a special population that brand new theories, variables and propoiitions are necessary to understand their behavior. Our gamble is exactly the opposite. Our hunch is that AFDC mothers, like you and me, work when it is to their advantage and do not work when work would be disadvantageous, e.g., employment will be sought when it appears that gains, financial, social and familial, outweigh losses. Thus, they seek to maximize utility but not utility in the traditional economic sense. Here utility must be broadly defined as the ability to provide need satisfaction. The factors that create employment opportunities are the same for welfare mothers as for the general population, but the balance tends toward a disadvantageous labor market position for the former.

How well do the facts support this hunch?

The Independent Variables

The independent variables are grouped as follows: work capacities, family situation, maternal values, stigma and "tracer variables." Each variable is treated dichotomously--with one pole considered "+", predictive of work, and the other as a "-" factor predictive of not working. We will describe each in turn.

Work Capacities

The common sense hypothesis is that the more valuable a person's work skills, the more likely she is to be employable and hence employed. Thus we predicted that the AFDC mother with greater "work capacity" would be more likely to enter the labor force. Since most of these women are in the operative and service sectors (less than 1% have held jobs classified as professional or technical-semiprofessional) where specific job skills are rare, we used general indicators rather than specific job qualifications, the three items being Educational Attainment, Health and IQ.

Educational Attainment (II-72) was measured once(during the first wave) and then cutting, 10 or more years versus nine or less, divided the 438 cases into equal halves. Our prediction was that the better educated women were more likely to be employed.

The IQ (I-5) measured is based on responses to the excerpted Wechsler Digit Symbol Test. Our prediction is that higher scorers, those scoring "47 or higher" 57% of the cases,are more likely to work--not necessarily because it is "smart to work" but because more intelligent people can get jobs.

Health (II-71) was measured by the interviewer's question, "What part does your health play in your decision to work or in the kind of work you can take?" The four possible first wave responses were grouped as follows: Plus--"My health has little or nothing to do with my decision to work or not" (60% of the cases) and Minus--" Because of my health there are certain kinds of jobs I cannot take, but I can take most kinds of jobs," "Because of my health there are only a few kind of jobs that I could take" and "It is the biggest factor in keeping me from working" (40% of the cases, spread equally across the three categories). The prediction is that the more healthy woman is more likely to work.

Family Situation

Family situation, the second cluster of variables was, like work capacity, treated from a common sense point of view. Role conflict prevents the mother from leaving the home and entering employment; when conflict is decreased, when child care facilities are provided, or when there are fewer children or the children are older than preschoolers, employment should be more likely. The specific variables are as follows.

Marital Status (I-62). On the first wave,(13%) of the respondents were coded as married in contrast to 58% separated or divorced and 27% single. The latter groups are scored "positive" on the assumption that they are less likely to have a breadwinner.

The presence of children in the household (by definition all had some) was treated as two separate variables.

Number of Children (I-65). Of the 437 cases in the first wave, 24% reported five or more children, 40% three or four, 21% two children and 16% one child. The last two (37%) were scored positive and the first two (64%) negative, on the assumption that the fewer the children the freer the woman is to seek employment.

Kids Under Six (I-63). Another way of viewing the impact of children is in terms of the percent of pre-schoolers. The common sense notion is that those AFDC mothers who have no children under six (26% of the first wave cases) are freer to seek employment. Thus the absence of children under six was scored positive.

Because the vast majority had children under six we introduced two rough measures of child care resources as part of the family situation list.

Baby Sitter (II-71). Respondents were asked, "If you had to be out of the house all day working, who would take care of your children?" with possible responses: "Do not have children to be cared for, Husband, Other Children, Adult Relative, Friends or Neighbors, Nursery School, Day Care Center, Other." The answers were divided into "Friends and Relatives" (Husband, other children, Adult Relatives, Friends or Neighbors), 59% of the first wave responses, versus all other, 41%. The prediction is that the first group would have a higher rate of employment since the extended family and friendship networks are more accessible child care alternatives than institutional arrangements or baby sitters. The former are generally free, at least free of economic costs; the latter may entail daily fees in addition to transportation costs.

Day Care Center (IV-8). Each respondent was asked, "What is the name of the closest Day Care Center to where you live that takes care of children of working mothers?" and answers were coded as "Know of One" (44%) versus "Do not Know of any" (56%). The former was scored as positive on the assumption that day care resources, and, in particular, knowledge of their availability, would facilitate employment.

Maternal Values

If one were to judge America from the mass media in the Fall of 1970, the extensive publicity given to "Women's Liberation" might lead to the conclusion that most American women dislike being mothers and housewives. However, many, if not the vast majority, find positive satisfactions in child care and housekeeping. Two attitude items were used to tap this aspect of motivation.

Ideal Number of Children (IV-28). The survey question "What do you think would be the ideal number of children for a family in circumstances similar to yours?" with a range from None to Eight-or-More was split to give as positive the 36% who answered "zero or one" and as negative the 32% answering "two" and the 32% answering "three or more". The prediction is that those preferring smaller families are more likely to seek work.

Attitude to Housework (IV-45). Believe it or not, some people like housework. In answer to the question, "What is your feeling about your own housework?" 26% said "Like" or "Like very much", 47% said "Like some" and 27% "Dislike". The latter two groups (74% of the total) were scored positive on the assumption that they would be more interested in employment(2).

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[2] We ignored the distinct possibility that many of the jobs open to the subjects involve housework or closely related activities. The response was presumed to refer to work in their own homes.

Stigma

The final set of variables is actually on the borderline between common sense and "special population" theories. The notion is that instead of being a group thoroughly steeped in "welfare culture," many of the mothers feel ashamed or stigmatized. In a way, the idea is a little odd since welfare is a legal right provided by the state and nobody has a legal right to a job, but from the viewpoint of middle class social scientists, at least, "stigma" is frequently discussed. We used three measures.

Status of Welfare Mothers (III-52). In the first wave respondents were asked to accept or reject two propositions, "People I know look down on welfare mothers" and "There are times when I have been embarrassed in front of my family by (sic) friends because of being on welfare." The two were combined into a single index and the group divided between those scoring relatively "High" (55% relatively stigmatized) and "Low" (45%,relatively less stigmatized).

Welfare Abuse (IV-71). The women were asked whether they would or would not criticize a person who violated five assorted welfare rules, e.g., "earning money and not reporting it to the caseworker," "using welfare money for liquor or gambling," "secretly receiving support from the father of children who lives separately." These items were combined into a scale and the scores divided into the 34% most strict and the 66% less strict. The prediction from the notion of stigma is that the former group are more likely to seek work since they have a more "middle class" set of norms regarding welfare.

Friends (IV-19). Respondents were asked "How many of (your) friends are on welfare now?" The 73% who answered "Most are not on welfare" or "None are on welfare" were scored positive in contrast to the 27% who answered "Most but not all are on welfare" or "All are on welfare." The hypothesis is that women whose milieu is "non-welfare" will be more stigmatized by receiving welfare and thus more highly motivated to work.

Tracer Variables

In addition to the thirteen predictor variables explained above, we used two other variables with a somewhat different logical status. The idea was that they would show how the process works but are not independent sources of impetus to work. The items are Potential Earnings and Work Intention.

Potential Earning (II-68). The following question was asked, "When you work, you have to pay extra for child care, clothes, transportation and other expenses involved in working. How much more do you think you make (would make) working as compared with what you receive (would receive) on welfare?" The 62% of first wave respondents who answered "more" are scored positive and the 38% who answered "same" or "less" are scored negative. We assumed that this variable would combine the assets of job skills and the liabilities of child care, etc., to show the extent to which pure economic "rationality" predicts employment.

Work Intention (II-70). The last variable in the list is the epitome of the common sense approach. It reads, "In the next six months, do you expect that you will ... Go to work at a new job, look for a new job, keep working at present job, none of these?" The 55% of the wave one sample that gave an answer other than "none of these" are scored positive, the remaining 45% negative. We should not be astounded to find some correlation between expectation to work and employment. If so, we can't claim any penetrating insight into the dynamics of the process. However, our entire "theory" assumes that the woman's motivation is the "intervening" variable that links our predictors with the outcome. If this variable "works" but our predictors do not, we can say that we have not found the variables that affect work motivation but such motivation is important. On the other hand, if this variable "doesn't work" we would doubt our entire line of argument.

The Dependent Variable: Labor Force Status

The 447 women in the first wave sample were classified in terms of labor force participation as shown in Table V-1.

TABLE V-1

LABOR FORCE STATUS--FIRST WAVE
(II-69)

Category	Percentage	
In Labor Force	42	
Employed		15
Unemployed		27
Not in Labor Force	58	
Need to Care for Children		39
Health and Pregnancy		19
	100	100
	N=422	

Between a third and one-half of the women were in the labor force, although only 15% were actually employed. Among the 58% who were "not interested" in working, two-thirds gave child care as their reason. Actually, these results are not far out of line in terms of the total national scene. The 1970 Statistical Abstract, for example, reports that in 1969 among married women with a husband present, 40% were in the labor force. Given the special burdens of the women in this study, they can hardly be described as idle.

Table V-2 shows what happens when labor force status in the first wave is cross-tabulated against labor force status in the second:

TABLE V-2

LABOR FORCE STATUS--WAVE ONE BY WAVE TWO
(Frequencies)

	WAVE 2 (VI-69)				
WAVE 1 (II-69)	Not in Labor Force		In Labor Force		
	Health or Pregnancy	Children	Unemployed	Employed	
Employed	5	5	5	34	(65)
Unemployed	11	28	22	17	(116)
Children	13	91	31	7	(166)
Health-Pregnancy	26	23	8	11	(80) (337)

The import of such "turn-over" tables can often be seen by making a new table showing the net gains and losses in various categories. For example, row 1, column 2 tells us that 5 women shifted from "Employed" to "Not in Labor Force, Children" while row 3, column 4 tells us that 7 cases shifted in the opposite fashion--from "Children" to "Employed". Subtracting the 5 departures from the 7 new arrivals, we obtain a net shift of +2 cases for this cell. Table V-3 gives the net change for the entire table.

TABLE V-3

NET CHANGE IN OFF-DIAGONAL CELLS OF TABLE V-2

FROM	TO			
	Health-Pregnancy	Children	Unemployed	Employed
Employed	+6	+2	+12	
Unemployed	-3	+3		-12
Children	+10		-3	-2
Health-Pregnancy		-10	+3	-6
TOTAL	+40		-40	

Wave One Correlations

Having described the independent and dependent variables, let us attack the obvious question--is there a correlation between our predictors and Wave One labor force status? If we dichotomize the Wave One Labor Force Status as Employed or Unemployed vs. Not interested-Children Health-Pregnancy, we can handle all the data as four-fold tables. Here, for example, is Wave One Labor Force Status and later involvement in the WIN program.

TABLE V-4

WAVE ONE LABOR FORCE STATUS AND WIN STATUS

LABOR FORCE (II-69)	WIN STATUS (IX-12)			
	Did Not Enter	Entered Program	Total	Per Cent Entered
In	47	3	50	6
Out	272	32	304	12
			(354)	

The percentages at the right tell us that there is a negative correlation between labor force status and WIN participation. As a measure of degree of correlation, we use the coefficient, Yule's Q (3). It is easily calculated by multiplying the "cross-products" of frequencies in the diagonal cells. In our example, one cross product is 3 x 272 = 816, the other 47 x 32 = 1504. Q is the difference between cross products, divided by the sum. For Table V-4, (816-1504/816+1504 = (-688/2320) = -.35. Q will be .00 if there is no relationship and it has a maximum of +1.00 or -1.00 for the maximum possible correlation in a table with the same row and column sums. Here, for example we find a moderate negative correlation between labor force and later WIN status.

Similar correlations were run for all our predictor variables and the results appear in Table V-5. All variables are scored so that a positive correlation supports our hypotheses.

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[3] See James A. Davis, Elementary Survey Analysis, (Prentice-Hall,1971), Chapter Two.

TABLE V-5

ZERO ORDER CORRELATIONS WITH WAVE ONE LABOR FORCE STATUS

Work Capacities	Family Situation	Maternal Values	Stigma	Tracers
	Marital Status +.30			Work Intention +.73
	Kids Under Six +.26			
	Baby Sitter +.35			
	Knowledge of Day Care Center +.21	Ideal Children +.31		
Education +.30				
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------
IQ +.15		Housework +.10	Status of Welfare Mothers +.07	
			Welfare Abuse +.00	Potential Earnings -.05
	Number of Children -.09		Friends on Welfare +.14	
Health -.08				

As a decision rule, we said that correlations of +.20 or stronger were "keepers" since for most runs, correlations of this magnitude were statistically significant at the .025 level, the exact results depending a little on the number of "no answers" Thus, the dashed line running across the table.

Of the thirteen non-tracer predictions, six are supported (with positive Q's of .20 or more), seven are not (Q's of less than 20 points magnitude) and none are dead wrong (none of the variables show negative Q's of .20 or greater). In a batting average sense, all one can say is "I've seen better ... and I've seen worse." Turning to the classifications we see both positive and negative results in each group.

Substantively, we can say that:

As predicted, there are higher rates of Labor Force participation for AFDC mothers who ...

are not married
have no young children
know of a nearby day care center
have a friend or relative who could care for their children
desire smaller families
are better educated

Despite our predictions, there are no higher rates of Labor Force participation for AFDC mothers who ...

score high on our IQ test
report stigma because of welfare
are less strict about welfare rules
have friends not on welfare
have more children, ignoring the child's age
report good health
are not enthusiastic about housework

Our two tracer variables show the same mixed results. Work intention does very well, with a Q of +.73. Women in the labor force show a clear cut tendency to expect more future work than do women not in the labor force. Obvious enough, but less obvious is the fact that Potential Earnings has a negligible relationship. Women in the labor force were no more likely to report that they found work "profitable." One is tempted to claim that "economic" variables are less important than "sociological" ones until one remembers that there is a strong economic thread to all our sociological arguments, e.g., the argument that better educated women would work because they would make more.

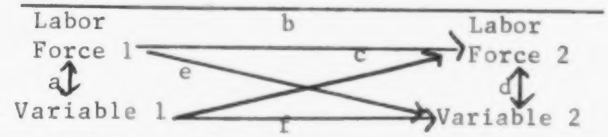
Short Run Changes: Wave One to Wave Two

The results in Table V-5 may be thought of as the net effects of a number of long run changes in the variables, sort of an "equilibrium" value. The longitudinal (panel) design of the study gives us a chance to ask questions about the short run dynamics.

The logic and strategy of panel analysis are complex and controversial matters. Our approach is fairly simple. It starts with the following diagram. Given some predictor variable and labor force status, each measured in two waves, the following possible relationships occur:

FIGURE V-1

POSSIBLE RELATIONSHIPS FOR TWO VARIABLES
MEASURED IN TWO WAVES



We are particularly interested in relationships a, b, c and d. Relationship (a) is the wave I correlation between the predictor variable and labor force status reported in the previous section.

Relationship (b) is the persistence of labor force status, a tendency for workers to remain workers and non-workers to remain non-workers. As a matter of fact, we used Months Worked (VI-10) during the intervening year as our Wave II measure of employment, rather than a repetition of the labor force status question. The switch was made because it seemed a little more "objective". The informant didn't have to assess her "interest" in work. I believe that the general pattern of findings would come out about the same if we had used a literal repetition of the labor force question. Twenty-nine percent of the Wave II interviews showed one or more months employed in the previous year. These women are scored plus and the remaining 71% minus.

The (b) correlation is .62 using (II-69). The magnitude of the relationship is unaffected when any other variable is controlled. This finding can hardly come as a breath-taking insight, yet it has two implications worth noting. First, the fact that we can obtain longitudinal correlations as high as this suggests that lower correlations cannot be automatically excused as "random error," "poor interviewing," "uncooperative subjects" and the like. Second, the very strong persistence of labor force status means that we don't have much change to explain with our other predictor variables.

The (c) correlation is one of prediction. We ask whether scores on a predictor at Wave I are related to Employment at Wave II. Table V-6 summarizes the results:

TABLE V-6

'C' CORRELATION (ZERO ORDER) OF WAVE ONE PREDICTOR VARIABLES WITH WAVE TWO EMPLOYMENT, ARRANGED ACCORDING TO THE CORRELATIONS OF THESE PREDICTORS WITH WAVE ONE LABOR FORCE STATUS

	WAVE TWO RELATIONSHIP WITH EMPLOYMENT			
WAVE ONE CORRELATION	Less than +.20		+.20 or Higher	
+.20 or Higher			Work Intention	+.56
			Kids Under 6	+.37
			Marital Status	+.30
			Ideal Children	+.28
			Education	+.22
	Baby Sitter	+.18		
	Day Care Center	+.04		
Less than +.20	Status of Wel.Mo.	+.17		
	Health	+.15		
	IQ	+.11		
	Number of Children	+.09		
	Potential Earnings	-.15		
	Welfare Abuse	-.33		
	Housework	+.19	Friends on Welfare	+.28

Examination of Table V-6 indicates that the variables that predicted labor force status in the first wave also tended to predict future employment, the only three exceptions being knowledge of a Day Care Center and Access to a Babysitter which fall below the decision pt. of .20 and Friends on Welfare which becomes significant in predicting employment.

Our successful predictors work reasonably well over a year's period of time even with a slightly different measure of the dependent variable. The results in Table V-6 could be a statistical artifact. Because the (b) correlation (that between Wave One Labor Force Status and employment) is so strong, any variable correlated with Wave One Labor Force Status will tend to show a positive predictive relationship. A more searching test is to look at the (c) correlation, controlling for Wave One Labor Force Status. Table V-7 shows how this is done, using our tracer variable, Work Intention, as an example.

TABLE V-7

ILLUSTRATION OF METHOD FOR COMPUTING PARTIAL Q: WORK INTENTION (WAVE I) AND EMPLOYMENT (WAVE II) CONTROLLING FOR EMPLOYMENT (WAVE I)

Labor Force Wave One	Work Intention	Employment Wave Two No	Employment Wave Two Yes	Cross Products		Q
In	High	9	36	180		+.82
	Low	5	2		18	
Out	High	107	45	5805		+.40
	Low	129	23		2461	
	Total			5985	2479	+.41

The top two rows show that among women in the labor force at Wave One, those who intended to work were more likely to have worked at Wave Two (Q=+.82), while the bottom two rows show that among women not in the labor force at Wave One, the same direction obtains (Q=+.40). The bottom line shows how the cross products from the two "conditional relationships" are combined to give a partial correlation--the relationship between Work Intention and Wave Two Employment within (controlling for) Wave One Labor Force Status (4). Since there are many more cases in the bottom conditional table, the final partial (+.41) is much closer to the former, though it is a weighted average of the two.

---

[4] See James A. Davis, Op. Cit., Chapter Four, for a detailed explanation of partial Q's.

Table V-8 summarizes the results for similar tabulations on the complete set of variables. The pattern in Table V-8 is much like Table V-6. The variables correlated with labor force participation in Wave One tend to be the ones that predict employment a year later, even with Wave One Labor Force controlled. Thus, whether or not she is in the labor force at Wave One, an AFDC mother is more likely to be employed later if she:

intends to be employed later
prefers a small family
has no children under six
has few friends on welfare
reports good health
has a smaller family

Such findings may be useful for practical prediction, but they have a logical drawback in tracing dynamics: the predictive correlation ignores the possibility that the predictor variable itself may change. Thus, for example, while 1948 attitudes toward the Republican Party probably were correlated with Presidential vote in 1948, we would hardly expect them to be correlated with 1968 Presidential vote controlling for 1948 vote.

TABLE V-8

PARTIAL Q, VARIABLE AT WAVE ONE AND EMPLOYMENT WAVE TWO, CONTROLLING FOR LABOR FORCE TIME ONE

WAVE ONE CORRELATION WITH LABOR FORCE	WAVE II			
	Less than +.20		+.20 or Greater	
+.20 or Greater			Work Intention	+.41
			Ideal Children	+.32
			Kids Under 6	+.25
	Education	+.13		
	Marital Status	+.09		
	Baby Sitter	+.02		
	Knowledge Day Care Center	+.06		
Less than +.20			Health	+.27
			Friends	+.27
	IQ	+.11	Number of Children	+.46
	Status of Wel.Mo.	+.08		
	Housework	+.10		
	Potential Earnings	-.30		
	Welfare Abuse	-.36		

Perhaps the most telling panel correlation is one that looks at the joint change in both variables. It turns out that this is the (d) correlation in Figure V-1, and the appropriate measure is the correlation between the Wave Two variables controlling for both Wave One scores. The logic of this plan may be seen by working through the example of "Kids Under 6."

TABLE V-9

"KIDS UNDER 6" AND EMPLOYMENT--WAVE ONE AND WAVE TWO

Wave 1		Wave 2			Cross Products		Q
Labor Force	Kids Under 6	Employed 1 Month	Kids Under 6 Yes	Kids Under 6 No			
Yes	No	Yes	3	16	0	15	-1.00
		No	0	5			
Yes	Yes	Yes	12	6	48	12	+ .60
		No	8	1			
No	No	Yes	1	19	152	39	+.59
		No	8	39			
No	Yes	Yes	42	5	850	714	+.08
		No	170	17			
					1050	780	+.15

Beginning at the left side of Table V-9 we see that the cases have been divided into four groups on the basis of their Wave One scores for Labor Force and Kids. By making our tabulations within these groups we control for the Wave One correlation between the two variables.

Let us consider the first group, women who were originally in the labor force and had no small children at home. If Kids affects employment we would expect that women who "acquired" young children would tend to leave the labor force, at least in comparison with women who remained free of such responsibilities. Logically, this is the same as asserting a positive correlation in the four-fold table for Wave Two. Alas, this does not seem to be the case in our data. The three women who gained "kids" all worked, while only 16 of the 21 who remained "kid-free" worked in the following year. Thus, the Q coefficient for this table is a negative 1.00.

In point of fact there are so few cases in the sub-table that we should not take the result seriously. Rather, we perform similar calculations on the other three sub-tables and combine the results into a partial Q, as explained above. In Table V-9 the bottom three correlations are positive: (using the words Employed and In Labor Force as synonyms for simplicity)

> Employed women who "lost" Kids Under 6 were less likely to leave the labor force (Q=+.60)
>
> Unemployed women who "gained" Kids Under 6 were less likely to enter the labor force (Q=+.59)
>
> Unemployed women who "lost" Kids Under 6 were more likely to enter the labor force(Q=+.08)

Because the last correlation is so small (+.08) and contributes so much to the sum of cross products, the net partial correlation between changes in Kids and changes in Employment is +.15.

Similar tabulations were carried out for all variables and are summarized in Table V-10. We draw the following conclusions from Table V-10.

First, by-and-large, the variables that are correlated with work at Wave One are the ones correlated with short term changes, though the correlations run lower, as one might expect, since the latter are "controlled."

TABLE V-10

JOINT CHANGE CORRELATIONS:
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN WAVE TWO EMPLOYMENT AND PREDICTORS
ARRANGED ACCORDING TO CORRELATIONS BETWEEN WAVE ONE LABOR FORCE STATUS
AND THE WAVE ONE VALUE OF THE PREDICTOR

WAVE 1 CORRELATIONS	Less than +.20		+.20 or Higher		Not Measured in Wave 2
+.20 or Higher			Work Intention	+.68	
			Friends	+.36	
			Baby Sitter	+.33	
					Education
	Ideal Children	+.14			
	Kids Under 6	+.15			
	Marital Status	+.02			
	Housework	-.01			
Less than +.20			Day Care Center	+.27	
	IQ	+.12			
	Health	+.14			
	Number of Children	-.08			
	Potential Earnings	-.08			
	Status Wel. Mother	-.12			
	Welfare Abuse	-.27			

Second, the short term relationships for Baby Sitter and Day Care Center suggest that for short run changes, the ability to find appropriate child care facilities is a fairly important variable.

Third, the strong relationship for Work Intention suggests that our general motivational approach is appropriate even though our particular variables are not all impressive in terms of sign or magnitude of correlation.

Summary and Conclusions

Thirteen substantive and two "tracer" variables were analyzed in a one year longitudinal study of labor force status in a sample of AFDC mothers. The predictor variables were grouped as follows: work capacities, family situation, maternal values and stigma of welfare. Each of the variables was analyzed in terms of its correlation with labor force status in the first wave and in terms of other correlations that tap the short run changes over the period of one year.

The broad conclusions that emerge are these:

1. About half of the predictions were supported, although none with correlations of astounding magnitude.

2. No one of these content areas, as a whole, seems the key to the problem since there were favorable and unfavorable results for predictions assigned to each group.

3. At any point in time, those preferring a small family, not having children under six, and being of good health are more likely to work.

4. The one striking failure was with the tracer variable, Potential Earnings. There was no evidence that the welfare mother's calculation of sheer economic gain and loss has anything to do with her employment. Whether this means that she is immune to narrowly economic considerations or whether the question was too abstract for her to answer validly is unknown.

5. Measures of welfare stigma _per_ _se_ do poorly as predictors.

6. The best predictor of _change in work status_, in all analyses, is the mother's reported intention to work or not work. At first glance the finding seems trivial, but it does serve to support the over-all validity of the survey and it buttresses the proposition that the welfare mother does have considerable ability to make her own decisions regarding work--rather than being pawn to larger social and economic forces.

7. The items Friends on Welfare does correlate well with _change in work status_ but it is possible that this is an effect rather than a cause. Perhaps women who work tend to form friends in the non-welfare popilation.

Or to summarize the summary: The factors that seem to promote labor force participation among welfare mothers do not seem mysterious or subtle. Generally speaking, the factors that lead to AFDC--the responsibility for young children and the absence of normal income sources--when reversed are the factors that promote labor force participation. Obviously, the way to get AFDC mothers off welfare and into the labor force is to get rid of the factors that got them onto welfare in the first place. That having friends who work is correlated with a positive change in labor force status over the year suggests the importance of social milieu in the choice between work and welfare.

CHAPTER VI

WHY SOME HUSBANDLESS POOR MOTHERS CHOOSE TO WORK

Work, Welfare and the Distribution of Resources

Work and Welfare: A False Dichotomy

The Work Incentive Program aims to assist mothers of AFDC supported families to become self supporting through employment. In actuality, WIN is less a social intervention creating motivation to work than it is a catalyst of status change for women already motivated to work. Personality and social milieu generate a decision to work prior to the appearance of the WIN opportunity. This program, sponsored and managed by the polity, develops a political consciousness not always shared by those who discover the working world through mechanisms of the market. This chapter complements that on the WIN Experience by comparing welfare and working mothers. The latter have become self supporting through normal market channels.

A word of caution should be entered against an easy assumption that work and welfare are complementary terms. These terms refer to two criteria by which resources such as food, shelter, clothing, knowledge, moral values, etc. are distributed among individuals in our society. Material resources and some services are, in our society, distributed to families by economic organizations such as industries or shops. Ordinarily, one or more members of a family participates in an economic organization, obtains resources, usually in the form of money, and then distributes these fruits of his earnings to other members of his family. This is the work system. Where the link between the family and the economy is broken, as in a female-headed household, various adaptive arrangements are possible.

The female head of household may link her household to another household of the same extended family which, in turn, has someone working. Traditionally, deprived households have been maintained through exchange within the extended family; the mother goes "home" or joins her sister's household. Perhaps the most usual way of reestablishing a link to the economy is by attracting a new worker to the family by remarriage or by offering companionship. All of these adaptations involve the establishment of a relationship directly or indirectly with an alternate breadwinner. Failing these adaptations, the family may become dependent on a government agency to acquire resources for it. This is the welfare system. Welfare is, along with private insurance, social security and disability pensions, one among the forms of benefit income.

Resources may also be obtained through return on commercial investments; receiving rights in property, as through an inheritance; coming into a windfall, as when one wins a contest or one's property appreciates in value; through gambling or through illegal means such as theft or extortion. Few of these poor mothers have any commercial or inheritance income. Only a handful married or remarried between interviews. Irregular income seems to be insignificant for this population.

This chapter will deal only with work and welfare--two of the possible ways of arranging income. That these are not mutually exclusive alternatives will be evident from the number of low income matrifocal households with a mixed work and welfare income. In this sense, as the next few pages will document, work and welfare is a false dichotomy. A comparison of the working and welfare populations will show the insignificance of the difference in their total incomes. The reason, then, for choosing either work or welfare reflects the cultural orientations and social relations in which the mother participates--a difference in life styles. Explanations for assuming one or another life style are only vaguely discernible in the manifest factors of race, age or marital status. These explanations rest on underlying factors which make family desirable or which influence the extension of the mother's horizon beyond the household. Work and homemaking do not constitute opposed attractions for the mother. Their exclusivity results more from the structure of occupational life in our society than from incompatible personal tendencies. Within the constraints of our society, however, a choice between home and work is influenced by the social climate provided by friends and relatives who work or are welfare recipients and by an image of the self as one who fits into and can succeed in an occupation. The welfare population itself polarizes--some of its clients gradually becoming economically independent and others settling into an increasingly dependent relation. The self emanicipators, while not freeing themselves from welfare dependency during the year of the study, earn an increasingly large proportion of their income. Some factors associated with this polarization process are traced in the next to the last section of this chapter. The chapter closes by summarizing the argument in terms of two polar life styles--one traditional and associated with a mother as homemaker in a patrimonial relation to the economy, and the other modernizing and associated with a mother as worker relating to the market exchange.

The primary research group consists of families supported through the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program. Their attributes and behaviors will be compared with those of a group of working mothers who are also in matrifocal households and with dependent children. Earnings, rather than welfare benefits, constitute the main income of these households. Two interviews were conducted with each sample. Four hundred and forty-seven welfare mothers were interviewed in the summer of 1969 and 373 of them reinterviewed in the summer of 1970. One hundred and two working mothers were interviewed in February of 1970 and 85 of them were reinterviewed in the summer of 1970. The selection of these samples, the interviewing procedure and the construction of the questionnaires are described briefly at the beginning of Chapter IV and more extensively in Appendix A.

At the time of the second interview, 16 of the original sample of AFDC mothers were no longer receiving any aid and four of the original sample of working mothers were receiving welfare assistance. Despite the frequency of mixed work and welfare income, movement in toto between the welfare and working populations during the study year was nil. While individuals are not stampeding across the boundary between welfare and work, the welfare and poor working populations selected for this study are exposed to similar circumstances and have much in common. They live in the same neighborhoods, and may even be friends. Both are raising families without husbands and on low incomes. The welfare and working mothers both come from large families. Thirty-seven percent (438) of the welfare mothers and 33 percent (102) of the working mothers were, as children, members of households with seven or more children (IV-25). They share an opinion on the effect of welfare on children--in both populations about two out of five believe it has a negative effect (III-49). Their attitudes toward day care centers are similar. Thirty percent (434) of the welfare and 24 percent (93) of the working mothers have a high opinion of the worth of day care centers (IV-11). When asked how many more children they expected to have (IV-29), there was no difference. In both cases, 72 percent asserted that they would have no more children. Though working families would then be smaller, they agree in accepting a norm restricting family growth. About nine in ten of both populations claim a religious affiliation (IV-31). At the same time, nine in ten participate in no political party nor in any organization of welfare people (IV-37). Their attitudes toward job training are similar with 38 percent (437) of the welfare and 33 percent (99) of the working mothers affirming that job training programs are highly valuable (IV-41). They have similar attitudes toward housework. Twenty-six percent (432) of the welfare and 24 percent (102) of the working mothers say they like it very much (IV-45).

Perhaps the most significant commonality, in terms of the theme of this section that welfare versus work is a false dichotomy, is the fact that the welfare and working populations are in near consensus on their attitude toward welfare. They were asked to react to the proposition that people generally look down on welfare mothers (III-50). Fifty-six percent (437) of welfare mothers and 54 percent (99) of working mothers agree with this proposition. About half of both populations consider welfare a stigma. Since welfare and working mothers did not differ from one another in their assessment of the stigma, this attitude is no explanation for the fact that one population chose work and the other chose welfare.

The Insignificance of Economic Rewards

One population lives by its labors while the other lives on welfare. This is the fundamental cleavage. Amidst so much in common, what are the strategic differences which account for the cleavage?

To begin with, the working families selected fell into roughly the same income range as the welfare families. The proportion of their respective incomes traceable to work or to benefits is the distinguishing criterion. The social importance of this distinction derives from the relationships the mother assumes to obtain work or benefit income. To earn, she enters a relationship to provide services to an employer and, perhaps, she interacts with fellow employees. Benefits accrue irrespective of any services she returns to the source of payments. They depend, however, on some qualifying relation in which she stands to the source. Her current circumstances qualify her for welfare payments. This income relates her to a bureaucracy and subjects her to its rules. She qualifies for insurance benefits on the basis either of her own or her spouse's past performances. Alimony and child support involve personal relations and reciprocity.

To receive children's earnings, she relates to a work setting through her relationship with her children. A relationship to a working child involves his understanding regarding her rights to his income and her responsibilities to provide for him (1).

To believe that welfare households are supported solely through benefits and working households solely by earnings is a misapprehension Mixed forms of support are the rule. Table VI-1 shows the proportion of welfare and working mothers who reported income from each source (2).

TABLE VI-1

PROPORTION OF WELFARE AND WORKING MOTHERS
REPORTING INCOME FROM VARIOUS SOURCES
(in percents)

SOURCES OF INCOME	WELFARE MOTHERS		WORKING MOTHERS	
	1969	1970	1969	1970
Earnings				
Adult	25	38	100	93
Child	5	7	11	12
Benefits				
Welfare	100	96	0	5
Social Security	5	6	14	9
Insurance	2	1	2	1
Child Support	19	9	31	29
Other	11	25	23	20
	(447)	(365)	(102)	(85)

---

[1] Whether children's wages are to be classed as earnings or as a benefit depends on the unit of analysis. Were the unit of analysis the individual mother, the child's money would be transferred to her as a benefit in virtue of her custodianship not in virtue of her performance. Since the unit of analysis is the household, a child's wages are classed as earnings. Any members of the household may represent it in the market.

[2] Mothers are the reporters. Households are the recipients of income. The data refer to sources of income during the month prior to the interview. The first interview of working mothers actually took place in early February 1970. Thus, it presents income in a mid-winter month. All the other interviews took place in late June and July and so present, by and large, June income.

In 1969, a fourth of the welfare mothers had income from their own earnings, but the figure reached nearly two fifths by 1970. The 1970 panel included no new welfare cases--only the old cases one year later. Thus, the increased likelihood of working occurred during the year on welfare. More will be said about this later. The slight increase in child earnings may mean that children, one year older in 1970, are more likely to get a job and, perhaps, those who reach independence do not curtail remittances to a mother still dependent on welfare. At least, the attrition of contributing children does not exceed the number who become employed. The decline in child support among welfare mothers seems precipitous. Fathers earning at a subsistence level probably are not persistent in their responsibility. The increase in the "other" category reflects gifts from parents as well as subventions volunteered by new male companions.

The working population's income also combined earnings and benefits though in different ratios. The population was selected to reflect freedom from welfare but a year later a few were on welfare. Social security payments were relatively more important for working than for welfare mothers. This does not involve the face-to-face agency relation of the welfare applicant though they complete forms to meet bureaucratic requirements. A much higher proportion receive child support indicating a more persistent relation with former husbands. Working mothers also receive gift income from persons not residing with them.

The interview allowed for the reporting of irregular income from illegal activities. This was included in the "other" category. It is the distinct impression of the interviewers that irregular income plays an insignificant part in the lives of both the welfare and working populations sampled in Camden. As a check on response validity, the interviewers balanced the total expenditures against total income and probed when the former exceeded the latter by any large amount.

To have received income in a category implies the existence of the social relationship required for that income. The dollar amounts received reflect the intensity of those relationships. Table VI-2 shows the mean amounts received by each population in each income category.

The mean total income for this sample of Camden AFDC families in June 1970 was, roughly, $395. About $105, about one fourth of the total, was earned by working--overwhelmingly from the mothers' work. An average of $253, about two-thirds of the total, was received from welfare. The mean total income in this sample of Camden working families in June 1970 was approximately $393. Roughly $310, about four-fifths of the total, was earned, again, overwhelmingly by the mother. Their children contributed a bit more than did the children of welfare mothers, but, then, they tend to be older. Working mothers received negligible welfare assistance but tended to receive a bit more in child support payments than did welfare mothers. The difference in the other items is not statistically significant. The size of the standard deviations indicates a wide range of incomes in each category and suggests that even where the working and welfare populations' means differ significantly, the distributions overlap considerably. The combination of welfare and work income implies that both populations experience exchange relationships as well as the relationships associated with benefits.

TABLE VI-2

SOURCES OF INCOME IN JUNE 1970 OF WELFARE AND WORKING FAMILIES*

(in dollars)

SOURCES OF INCOME	WELFARE MOTHERS		WORKING MOTHERS			
	M	SD	M	SD	t	p
Earnings						
Adult	97.0	182.2	289.5	132.5	11.14	.001
Child	7.5	34.5	20.7	70.6	1.67	.10
Benefits						
Welfare	252.9	105.7	8.71	36.56	36.01	.001
Social Security	8.1	34.2	15.7	59.4	1.13	n.s.
Insurance	1.7	11.7	3.7	25.0	.71	n.s.
Child Support	9.0	29.7	27.9	55.6	3.02	.01
Other	21.6	79.2	27.3	72.6	.63	n.s.
Total Income	394.5	173.4	392.7	167.8	.10	n.s.
	(N=371)		(N=85)			

*Because of some failure to answer or the inapplicability of an item, the number of cases differs slightly for each income category. Means of each type of income do not sum exactly to the means of total income because the latter are computed as means of all the total incomes of the individual households.

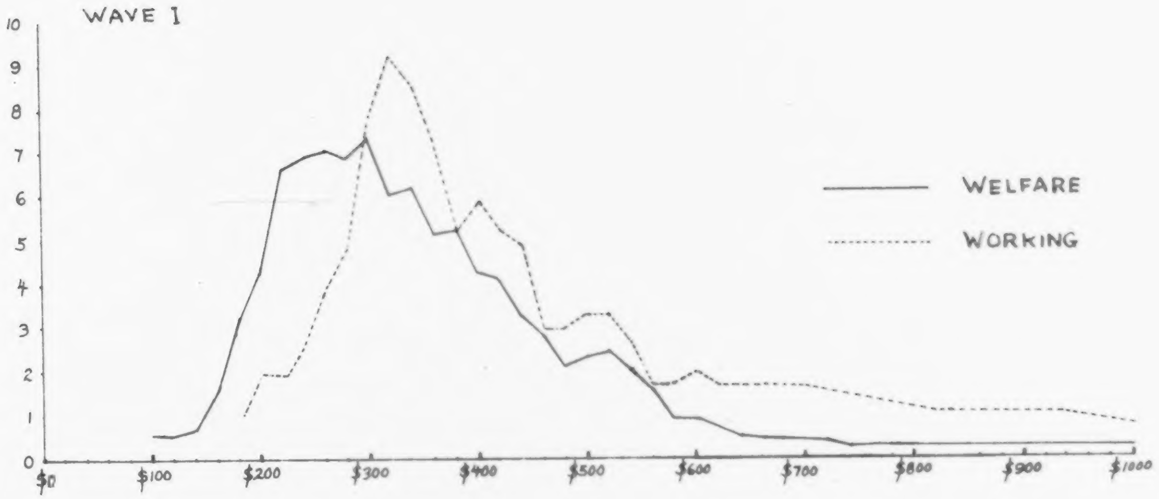
The overlap of the distributions may be seen in the two following graphs. Graph VI-1 shows the distribution of total incomes for welfare and working mothers as reported in the first interview and Graph VI-2 shows these distributions at the time of the second interview.

The plots are of the proportions of the population at each $20 interval of income. Smoothing was accomplished by plotting each point as the average of its own value and the values of the points immediately preceeding and following it.

Both graphs show that the working and welfare population incomes not only have nearly the same means but have similar distributions. In both cases, the working mothers income curve peaks above that of the welfare mothers suggesting a greater concentration around the modes. Paradoxically, the level of earned income seems to be more standardized than that of welfare income. The slight displacement to the right of the curve for working mothers income (Graph VI-1) reflects the fact that it represents income for a later date than that of the welfare mothers in a period of generally rising wages and prices. Judging by the right hand tails of these curves, a slightly higher proportion of the working than of welfare mothers had relatively high incomes. That there were any welfare families with incomes of $800, $900 or even $1000 might reflect an aberration for the particular month of the study, an error in reporting or reflect a few families in the process of freeing themselves from welfare dependency.

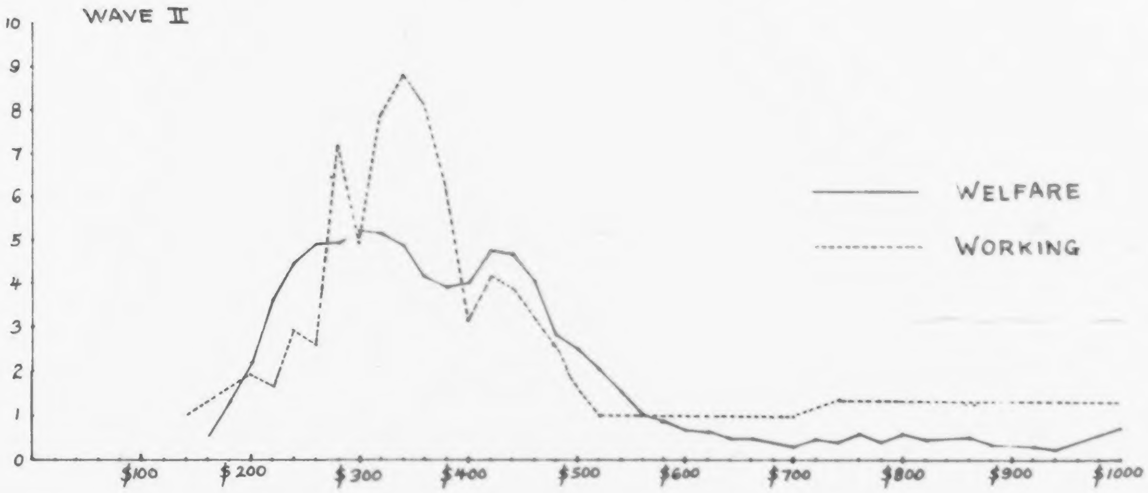
GRAPH VI-1

PROPORTION OF WELFARE AND WORKING FAMILIES
WITH VARIOUS INCOMES (1969)



GRAPH VI-2

PROPORTION OF WELFARE AND WORKING FAMILIES
WITH VARIOUS INCOMES (1970)



The total area under the curve reflects the aggregate demand--the gross amount of money which may be spent. Adjusting for the different sample sizes we see that the welfare and the working populations exert about the same aggregate demand. However, since the working families tend to be smaller, they may have greater discretionary income to allocate. This point must await analysis of expenditures in Chapter VIII.

Cash income accounts mask true income because they fail to show supplements received in kind. Welfare and working families enjoy indirect incomes, but of different types. AFDC clients receive a monthly allocation of food stamps, a suvbention to their food budgets. A family of four paying $72 for food stamps may purchase food priced at $106. They receive partially free medical services which cover doctor's visits, hospital charges, diagnostic tests and such items as orthopedic shoes, hearing aids and eyeglasses as well as most prescriptions. For a family of four in Camden, medical payment had a value of about $60 per month. Child care arrangements are subsidized and training allowances are available to supplement welfare payments. The real income of welfare clients, thus, exceeds that revealed by the cash budgets.

The working families were, by and large, residing in public housing and paying rents below those paid by welfare clients for housing of equivalent quality available on the private market. This rent subsidy provides working women with roughly $20 in real income above that reflected in their cash budgets. On the other hand, working mothers incur those costs attendant upon having a job--clothing, transportation and, perhaps, child care or babysitting--all of which reduce their effective disposible income. In the last analysis, the welfare households in this sample probably have a somewhat higher family real income than do the working households.

The standard of living is affected by the number of mouths to be fed on these incomes. Welfare families tend to be larger than working families. In 1969, 38 percent (447) of welfare but only 14 percent (102) of working households had four or more children (I-65). The 447 welfare households include 2123 persons, an average of 4.7 persons per household. The 102 working households include 352 people or an average of 3.5 per household. A comparison of per capita income will give a more accurate estimate of the standard of living (3). Table VI-3 shows the mean per capita income of welfare and working households in 1969 and 1970.

The per capita amount attributable to adult earnings in welfare homes is but a fraction of the total per capita income. Adult earnings become increasingly difficult to obtain as the number of children becomes greater. With three or four dependent children, it may be nearly impossible for the mother to hold regular employment. Thus, as shown in Table VI-1, 75 percent of welfare households showed no adult earnings. By 1970, the welfare households increased their adult earnings a bit and so narrowed the gap between themselves and the working households.

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[3] Per capita income is, of course, a rough measure of standard of living since it does not allow for "economies of scale" enjoyed by larger families.

TABLE VI-3

MEAN PER CAPITA INCOME FROM EACH SOURCE IN WELFARE AND WORKING HOUSEHOLDS (1969 AND 1970)

(mean dollars)*

SOURCES OF INCOME	1969		1970	
	WELFARE	WORKING	WELFARE	WORKING
Earnings				
Adult	11.02	102.20	21.45	94.23
Child	1.17	3.56	1.39	5.50
Total Earnings	12.60	105.74	22.59	99.77
Benefits				
Welfare	57.30	0	56.60	2.72
Social Security	1.24	5.07	1.68	3.90
Insurance	1.42	0.48	.38	1.24
Child Support	4.40	8.32	2.03	8.72
Other Benefits	1.46	6.89	5.17	8.80
Total Income	76.22	125.98	87.99	125.36

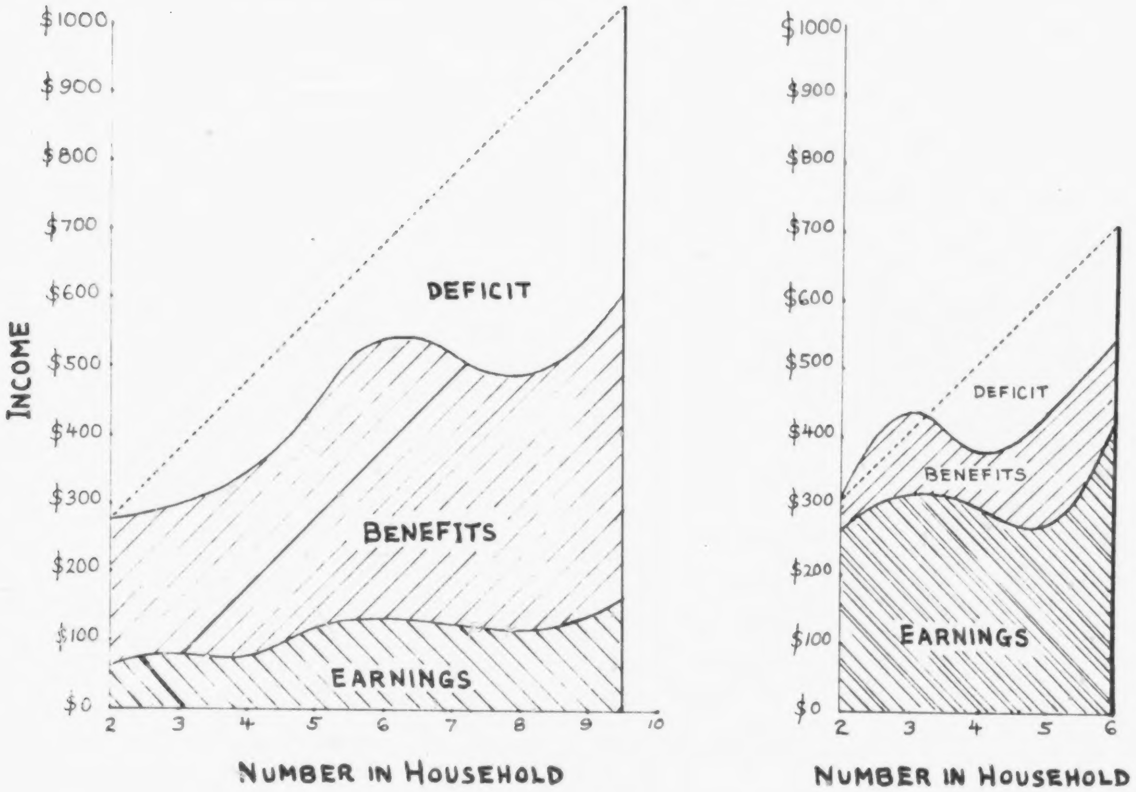
*Standard Deviations omitted to simplify presentation.

Comparing the total per capita income of the welfare and working households in both years would seem to indicate a decidely higher standard of living for members of working households. This difference exceeds the value of the average food, medical and child care benefits available to the welfare population. These may total something near $25 per person per month. For families near the subsistence level, the very access to medical care, when, for instance, there is a chronically ill dependent, may have an overriding value.

The earlier statement about the financial equality of these two populations must be modified. The comparative monetary advantages of the welfare and working households must be assessed separately for each size household. Graph VI-3 compares the income composition for each size household. The dotted line at the top of the graph shows the level of income that would be obtained with an increment of $100 per month for each additional member of the family. This provides a rough estimate of the income that would be needed for the increasingly large households to maintain them at the same standard of living as that of the average two person welfare or working households. While a straight line projection of a supplement does not reflect "economies of scale" in larger households, the very low figure of $100 per month provides a conservative estimate throughout the range. In two or three member matrifocal households, working offers a financial advantage over welfare. For families with four or more members, there is probably little financial advantage to working when the non-cash benefits are included. For families of seven or more dependents, welfare may offer an increasingly advantageous form of support. In fact, no family larger than seven appeared among the working households, but 11 percent of the welfare households had eight or more persons--the largest consisting of twelve (I-66). These large households, of course, included either more than two generations or other relatives. The very largest families may have older children or other adult members of the household. Yet the income supplement provided by children or an additional working adult is not commensurable with the additional financial weight they place on the family. This is evident from the increasing gap between the top of the income curve and the dotted line estimating the supplement needed to maintain the same standard.

GRAPH VI-3

COMPOSITION OF INCOME FOR WELFARE AND
WORKING FAMILIES ACCORDING TO NUMBER IN HOUSEHOLD



Standard of living is not a function of size of per capita income alone. It also depends on the net of relationships in which the family engages and the cultural content of their activities--that is, their style of living. This latter is, in part, reflected in expenditure or consumption patterns and this will form the basis for analysis in Chapter VIII. Style of living also determines and is determined by the way individuals obtain their income, that is, by their role in production. Economists, in distinguishing permanent from transitory components of income, have located a link between form of income and form of expenditure. Transitory income, such as that from a sudden windfall, is more likely to be spent on luxury goods. The permanent component ot income predicts the level of rent, food, clothing, or other stable expenses. Relief assistance is usually classified as a form of income supplementation, transitory income. This is true for the working population. Earned income is the permanent component for a working person.

For the welfare population, welfare income constitutes the permanent component. Earned income is transitory for them. Consequently, the use to which the earnings and benefits are put differs, the meaning of earned income differs for the two populations. The prospect of earning would then impact differently on the decision to work. A welfare mother may work to purchase non-basics, to meet an emergency. Her situation is comparable to that of a youth living at home and working for pocket money. When wages are the primary income, earnings are designated for basic needs. The motivation of working mothers to earn is more subsistence oriented.

To say that the decision to work is responsive to an income incentive is, thus, to say something quite complex. The meaning of money varies according to what it may be used for (basic subsistence or more peripheral goods and services) and according to what one has to do to obtain it (performing a task for earnings or presenting attributes to qualify for benefits). The decision to work is, thus, not simply dependent on the desire to acquire money, but involves the cultural significance of, at least, the choices in each of these three cases. The relationships into which she enters either to obtain or to expend money also influence the decision to work. These cultural significances and social relationships define styles of life.

Were the magnitude of earnings the sole criterion for the decision between work and welfare, many of these working mothers, as the above graph indicates, would be on welfare (4). Almost a fourth of the working mothers earned less than $300 in the month prior to the first interview--by and large below what they would receive on welfare, especially when the full benefits package is taken into account. In addition, qualifying for welfare in Camden is simple. Individuals are placed on the rolls and may receive an initial payment within hours after application. Deletion from the list requires a more cumbersome process. Money is certainly not a disincentive or irrelevant to the decision. Certainly, if there were no wages these women would not be employed, at least, not in profit making enterprises. Yet, one part of the study population chooses to work while another, in similar circumstances, accepts welfare assistance. Considerations other than economic must play a part.

Work and welfare are not two opposite and mutually exclusive links between family and economy. Typically, the low income matrifocal families' incomes were a composite of earnings and benefits. Working and welfare households enjoy nearly the same total incomes. A per capita advantage for the small working family disappears as the household increases in size and as the non-cash welfare benefit package is taken into consideration. It is difficult to monetize the security which medical protection affords the welfare family. Welfare and working families are also similar in their attitude toward family size, toward jobs and in their assessments of the stigma of welfare.

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[4] An argument is offered that raising the level of welfare payments would increase the number of welfare cases because more persons would earn less than the welfare benefit level. This would be the case only if the magnitude of income were the sole reason for working. The argument treats income obtained by work or by welfare as motivationally equivalent and mutually interchangeable.

The two populations are distinguished by the compositions of their incomes--the relative proportions derived from earnings and from benefits. Each source of income entails its own peculiar set of cultural orientations and social relations--one involving the mother in task performances at a working place removed from her home and the other allowing her to remain at home as a dependent of a complex bureaucracy. Each of these relational nets defines its style of life. To understand why a woman chooses one set of relations over the other requires more than the simplistic notion that her criterion is magnitude of income.

Rewards are also social and attitudinal satisfactions. Rewards for working may be intrinsic, such as the social relations enjoyed on the job, or the satisfaction of producing a product or offering a service. They may be extrinsic, such as money or some salutary effect on oneself or on other members of the family. A basis for a reward can be a basis for a loss or disadvantage. Working may cause loss of income and precipitate one into unpleasant job relations. The next sections turns to an analysis of some roots of the decision to work.

Manifest Factors and Underlying Explanations

The alternative forms of support chosen by or objectively available to a female head of household depend on her social location, her personalith, her competencies, as well as her competing obligations, especially those of the home. This study was not designed to examine the array of choices or possibilities but to focus on the decision to work. The determinants of such a decision may be conceptualized by the social scientist in terms which may not match those manifest in the consciousness of the decider. The welfare mother's conscious decision and the conscious rationale she offers for the decision should neither be dismissed from the analysis not should they necessarily be taken at face value. A question asking welfare mothers about their expection of taking a new job, looking for work or continuing in their current jobs was a good predictor of their likelihood of working (II-70). Seventy-five persent (128) of welfare mothers who worked during the year between interviews had announced in the first interview that they expected to work. On the other hand, 56 percent (239) who did not work during the year between interviews had declared that they would not enter the labor force ($x^2=25.0$, df=1, $p < .001$). Few scientific predictors could boast so high a "batting average" (5).

This is a factual prediction of their labor force status. There is also an association between their conscious evaluation of work and their likelihood of engaging in it. Welfare mothers were asked directly whether,

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[5] It would be of interest to study the deviant cases--the 25 percent of welfare mothers who said they would not be working but did indeed work and the 44 percent who did not work though they had said they would. This study of the mothers' ability to assess their own situations would be an interesting digression into the sociology of knowledge.

all things taken into account, money, care of children and opinions of friends, is it worthwhile for them to go to work (III-43). This is a composite measure of extrinsic rewards, or, more correctly, perceived extrinsic rewards. Eighty-three percent (128) of the welfare mothers who worked during the year and 67 percent (235) of those who did not work replied that it would be worth it to go to work ($x^2=10.06$, df=1, $p<.01$). In a general sense, then, those who work are those who evaluate work as worthwhile. Thus, the factors involved in the work/welfare decision are not so mysterious as to escape the individual. It does not follow that welfare mothers can correctly name the factors which would be relevant to a social intervention policy. Like medical patients, they report their symptoms accurately but therapy must rest on the physician's diagnostic categories.

Welfare mothers as well as the public discuss the choice in terms of race, age and marital status and, of course, dependency and education. Students of the problem sympathetic to welfare mothers argue that these factors control opportunities of job access or of home egress. Those unsympathetic associate the factors with the mothers' motivation to work. The real question is, in either case, if these factors are relevant, what makes them relevant. That is the question the social scientist must answer.

In this sample, race does not affect the choice between work and welfare. The welfare and working populations are both 70 percent black (I-59). At this income level, blacks seem equally likely to be found in the welfare as in the working population. Puerto Ricans, however, constitute nine percent (438) of the welfare as compared with two percent (102) of the working population and, thus, are more likely than blacks and whites to choose welfare $x^2=5.7$, df=1, $p<.02$) (6). It may be explained that Puerto Ricans are more likely to have large families and those with large families are more likely to be on welfare. In the AFDC population, three or more children are found in 58 percent (86) of the white, 63 percent (312) of the black but 78 percent (41) of the Puerto Rican families (I-65) ($x^2=6.3$, df=2, $p<.05$). However, this explanation of the disproportion of Puerto Ricans in the welfare population begs the question. Why do Puerto Ricans have larger families? The answer must be given in terms of culture, of attitudes toward marriage, and maternity.

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[6] That Puerto Ricans choose welfare is a loose way of interpreting the findings. Such a statement presupposes that the population samples have been selected by race and that, within each racial group, the proportions working and on welfare are compared. In fact, the procedure was the reverse. Welfare and working populations were selected and then found to contain some proportions of each racial group. Thus, as the data were organized, it would be proper to say that the welfare population chooses the attribute Puerto Rican. Since most of the statements in this chapter are based on comparisons of marginal distributions of attributes of the welfare and working samples, the language of reporting is sometimes an ellipsis. This does not affect associations attested to by the x^2 statistic since it is indifferent to the direction of classification.

Thus, despite the image, race seems but equivocally related to the welfare/work situation. It may be related indirectly because a cultural factor affecting family size happens to be associated with race. If this be the case, the designers of programs would, all else being equal, be better advised to attend to the cultural than to the racial elements.

Within the welfare population, income levels are not significantly associated with race. The mean total income for the month of June 1970 for Negroes was \$402.10 (N=266, sd=177.9), for whites \$373.60 (N=70, sd=177.3) and for Puerto Ricans \$355.60 (N=31, sd=95.3) (F=1.54, p=n.s.). The similarity of means covers some difference in the distributions which are shown in Graphs VI-4 and VI-5 (Puerto Ricans not shown in graphs because of paucity of cases). At the time of the first interview, the Negroes were bimodally distributed. One cluster of Negroes had a modal family income of around \$220. The second mode was at about \$400. By the second interview, both curves had flattened with little difference between them excepting for a small cluster of very poor blacks at around \$200 and a slight excess of blacks over whites among those earning between \$450 and \$860. This suggests that the classification by race conceals two rather different types of Negro welfare clients--some exceedingly poor and some a bit better off financially than the typical white welfare client.

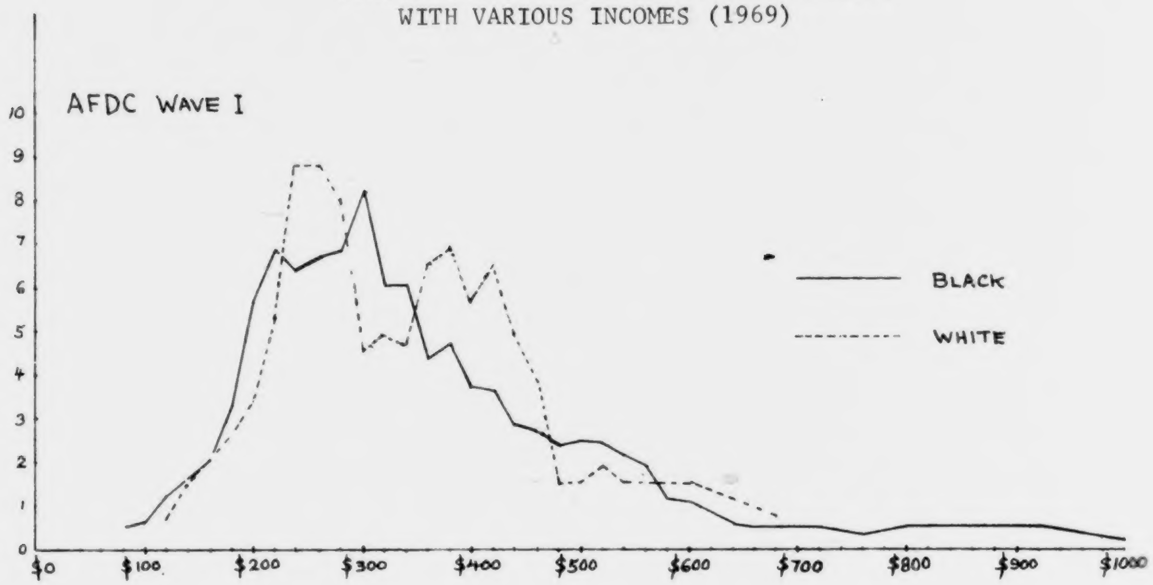
What about the age factor? Welfare mothers are, on the average, younger than working mothers(I-60). Fourteen percent (434) of the welfare mothers are age 21 or younger but only one working mother (100) is this young (x^2=13.4, df=1, $p < .001$). On the other hand, 29 percent of the welfare mothers are 35 or older, but 52 percent of the working mothers are that old (x^2=19.29, df=1, $p < .001$). Age correlates with the likelihood of working but not because it is intrinsically a factor in employment. The issue is not that employers turn women away on account of youth--in fact, the opposite may be the case. Age, rather, is associated with other variables which, in turn, relate more directly to work.

Does the likelihood of working increase with age because earnings increase with age? If so, financial incentive would be the relevant variable. Are younger women excluded from the labor force because they are more likely to have preschool children? If so, dependency rather than age would be the variable. Life cycle related dependency will be dealt with later in the chapter, but dependency in terms of family size will be looked at here. Age is also related to marital status--the older women being more likely to have more regularized marital statuses. A regularized or stabilized marital status, in turn, affects stability in relation to employment. Thus, stabilization of status becomes the relevant variable. A process of selection by which the more competent and the more healthy drop away from welfare as they become older leaving a small residue of less competent, older welfare women, helps explain why even the 29 percent of welfare women over thirty-five are still on welfare--even though few of them still have dependent children.

If older women are more likely to be at work, it is not because their wages are better. Welfare mothers reported their weekly gross earnings on

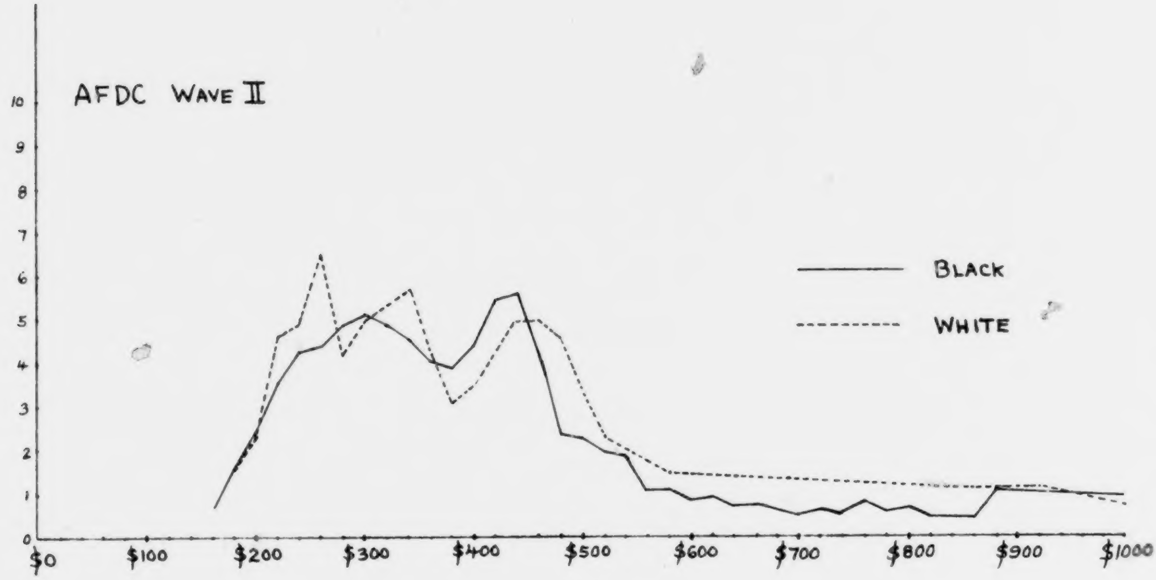
GRAPH VI-4

PROPORTION OF BLACK AND WHITE FAMILIES
WITH VARIOUS INCOMES (1969)



GRAPH VI-5

PROPORTION OF BLACK AND WHITE FAMILIES
WITH VARIOUS INCOMES (1970)



their last job (III-72) (7). They would, of course, have been a bit younger at the time of their last job than at the time of the interview. Thirty-one percent (58) of those 15-21, 28 percent (222) of those 22-34 and 17 percent (125) of those over 35 earned $70 or more ($x^2=5.2$, df=2, $p < .10$).

The ability of welfare mothers to earn does not increase, and may even decrease, with age. Older welfare women who worked may have earned even less than young girls. As will be seen below, the older welfare population is not exactly comparable to the younger since it contains a higher proportion of the less competent.

The situation among working mothers is similar. Table VI-4 shows earnings in the month before the interview (midwinter 1969-70) for working mothers in each age group.

TABLE VI-4

MEAN EARNINGS OF WORKING MOTHERS AT EACH AGE (1969)
(in dollars)

AGE GROUP	M	SD	N
22-26	317.42	95.54	19
27-34	320.52	83.69	29
35+	311.87	103.96	53

F=n.s.

As working mothers mature, their earnings do not increase. Thus, differential earnings by age would not explain the different age distributions in the welfare and working populations. The constant level of wages reflects the character of the market in which they work. Wages remain rather constant after an apprenticeship both in service and factory employment. The propensity of older women to work must be sought in other than economic terms.

Obviously, younger women are more likely to have small children. The release from this dependency may mean entrance into the labor force. However,

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[7] Aside from the one in ten of the welfare mothers who have never worked, about one third earned less than $50, a bit over a third earned between $51 and $69 and a bit less than a third earned $70 or more. With a median gross earned income of around $60 a week (equivalent to about $264 a month), the pre-welfare earnings of the current AFDC population are comparable to the mean-earned income of $289 per month of the working population as shown in Table VI-2. The comparison is tentative since the earned income data refer to the month before the interview and the data on the last salary are retrospective.

the number of children in a family increases with age. Table VI-5 shows the proportion of welfare and working mothers with three or more children at each age.

TABLE VI-5

PROPORTION OF WELFARE AND WORKING MOTHERS AT VARIOUS AGES WITH THREE OR MORE CHILDREN

AGE GROUP	WELFARE MOTHERS	WORKING MOTHERS	
15-21	24 (63)	*	
22-26	56 (119)	5 (19)	$x^2=17.1, df=1, p<.001$
27-34	76 (135)	35 (29)	$x^2=19.5, df=1, p<.001$
35+	74 (125)	42 (52)	$x^2=16.0, df=1, p<.001$

*Insufficient cases

As expected, age does, of course, correlate with family size in both populations. At every age, dependency is greater among the welfare than among the working mothers. Apparently, among welfare mothers, the families do not continue to grow in size after the mother has passed the mid-twenties. Either she ceases bearing or the birth rate is balanced by older children leaving. More will be said later about the size of family as a reflection of life style. The principal finding here is that dependency, not age, is the factor differentiating the working from the welfare mothers.

One striking figure in the above table is that 24 percent of the welfare mothers of 21 or under already have at least three children. A part of the welfare population consists of young girls with children. Some have never married while others married early and separated within a year or two. Of average competence, these young women became mothers and left school or became mothers soon after leaving school. Of the welfare mothers, 28 percent (437) are single, never married. Only nine percent (102) of the working mothers reported themselves in this status (I-62) ($x^2=16.3$, df=1, $p<.001$). Typically, working mothers are either separated (53 percent) or widowed/divorced (39 percent).

Are these differences in marital status inherent to the welfare/work distinction or does the relative youth of the welfare mothers account for the excess of single women among them? Table VI-6 tests this possibility by examining the marital status for each age group separately. Welfare mothers include a higher proportion of single, never married women and a higher proportion of married at every level. These married women do not have husbands resident with them nor are the husbands providing any substantial support. They are legally married, but, in fact, deserted. This could be the case with some listed as separated since no attempt was made to explore the legal character of the separation. Working mothers are more likely to be widowed or divorced. An implication is that the working mothers are more likely to have regularized statuses, those in which the termination of the relation with their children's father is clearly socially defined. The single, separated

TABLE VI-6

MARITAL STATUS OF WELFARE AND WORKING MOTHERS IN EACH AGE CATEGORY
(in percents)

MARITAL STATUS	WELFARE MOTHERS			WORKING MOTHERS	
	a 15-21	b 22-34	c 35+	d 22-34	e 35+
Single (never married)	53	26	17	11	8
Married	16	13	14	0	0
Separated	31	52	55	58	48
Widowed/Divorced	0	9	14	31	44
	(64)	(254)	(124)	(48)	(52)

Welfare: a/b/c $x^2=34.9$, df=6, $p < .001$
d/e $x^2=2.6$ df=2, p =ns

Age controlled:
22-34 b/d $x^2=18.60$, df=3, $p < .001$
35+ c/e $x^2=2.42$ df=3, p=n.s.

married and not living together are not socially clearly defined and regularized statuses. The regularization of family status seems to be associated with regularization of employment in both age groups. Though the difference is not statistically significant for those over 35, this answers the earlier question--the excess of single mothers among welfare is not a function of the number of young mothers. Among both welfare and working mothers there is an increase in regularized statuses with age.

Doubtless, the main way marital status affects welfare/work status is through its impact on dependency--broken marriages leave women alone with children and expose them to welfare. Behind this, though, is the question of the stabilization of the family relations--even after a break. Those who stabilize a family relation also stabilize a work relation.

The preponderance of young women on welfare could also be related to their lacking employment experience. Yet, the young girls have had just as much previous employment experience as their older sisters. The fact is that 86 percent (64) of those aged 15-21, 85 percent (253) of those 22-34 and 81 percent (124) of those aged 35 or older report some previous work experience (III-65). Apparently, if a woman is to have employment experience at all, she has had it by the time she is 21. The slightly smaller proportion of older women with employment experience may reflect the release into the welfare population of older divorcees and separated women who had married as schoolgirls.

These figures show a ceiling effect. Some 15 to 20 percent of the welfare mothers never have worked and probably never will work. This ceiling is attained by age 21. Some of the women are, of course, disabled. Others, such as the Puerto Ricans, are in a cultural setting in which work for women is frowned upon. Others, probably most of the 15 to 20 percent, are intellectually incompetent and unstable of personality.

Working is, in part, a function of ability to work. A digit symbol test (I-05) measured an aspect of intellectual competence. Scores of 0-28, reflecting very low intellectual ability, were obtained by two percent (49) of working mothers aged 15-34 and 11 percent (50) of those 35 or older ($x^2=3.7$, df=1, $.05 < p < .10$). Such low digit symbol scores were obtained in the welfare population by five percent (63) of those aged 15-21, 12 percent (252) of those 22-34 and by 29 percent (124) of those aged 35 or older ($x^2=25.4$, df=2, $p < .001$). In the oldest age group welfare mothers are significantly less intelligent than working mothers. Most likely a selective process is at work. Older welfare mothers constitute a residual of less competent women. Older welfare mothers do not, therefore, represent a population comparable to the younger ones.

Not only do older welfare mothers have lower intellectual ability but they are more likely to suffer personality disturbances. Human figure drawings as personality indicators were evaluated as normal, slightly or severely abnormal (I-07). Twenty-three percent (49) of the drawings of working mothers aged 15-34 and 36 percent (50) of those 35 or older were classed as abnormal (p=n.s.). Among welfare mothers, forty-two percent (64) of the drawings of those 15-21, 53 percent (251) of those 22-34 and 66 percent (125) of those 35 or over in the AFDC population were classed as abnormal ($x^2=10.9$, df=2, $p < .01$). The working population is more stable of personality than the welfare population at all ages. An especially high proportion of psychologically disturbed intellectual incompetents is found among older welfare mothers. The frozen wage levels in the job market and the declining competence are not unrelated. Lack of advance in a society cherishing advancement may be debilitating. Forcing a population to continue in menial, service work during their maturing years cannot but have a deleterious effect. Welfare is a refuge for the older incompetents.

The age factor in welfare, therefore, melts into a complex of personality, cultural and social relational issues. The fact that employment increases with age despite any increasing financial attraction probably reflects some combination of increased difficulty of obtaining alternative access to resources and some interest in social relational aspects of the working world. The likelihood of working is probably enhanced by the increasing stability in personal-marital relations of the older women. Those who remain on welfare as they age tend to be those with larger families. Dependency, rather than age, as such, is the factor associated with welfare.

Thus, age is not a variable affecting welfare/work status. It is a "locator"--a key to the "real" factors. Young women on welfare are likely to be there because of their failure to stabilize their relations in a family setting. As they do, they either marry or become working mothers. Older women on welfare include a disproportion of women deficient for success in the world of work. Programmatic intervention must consider these factors of family stability and personal competence.

The accretion to life earnings attributable to each year of additional education is a familiar presentation of the antagonists of school dropouts. Generally, earnings correlate with the length of formal education, an indicator of invested effort. Here, working mothers have more education than welfare mothers (II-72) and, as a consequence, would be expected to have a higher income. Forty-seven percent (101) of working mothers as compared with 22 percent (438) of welfare mothers had at least a twelfth grade education (x^2=42.74, df=1, $p<.001$). Labor force participation is related to education. It is also related to intent to enter the working world among those not presently in the labor force. Fifty-three percent (346) of welfare mothers with less than a high school education but 66 percent (101) of those with a high school education or better expected to be in the labor force within six months (x^2=4.9, df=1, $p<.05$). Does it now follow, as suggested above, that the more highly educated earn more?

Relying on retrospective report of gross weekly income on their last job (III-72), we find that 14 percent (110) of welfare mothers with less than a ninth grade education but 30 percent (188) of those with a nine to eleven year education earned $80 or more a week ($x^2$=9.71, df=1, $p<.005$). A high school graduation and any additional years--within the range of this sample--only raises this proportion to 32 percent (44)--in fact, no increase. There is some advantage to high school, but not much thereafter. In absolute terms, about two-thirds of the high school graduates in the population grossed less than $80 a week. This is less than $10 a day net, after taxes, and was inadequate for a mother with two or three children in Camden in the late 1960's (8). Working mothers earn better than four-fifths of their income. In their case as well, level of education is unrelated to the percent of income attributed to earnings (F=.273, p=n.s.) (9).

Table VI-7 shows the composition of the welfare and the working mother incomes at three educational levels. The part time work earnings of welfare mothers do increase with education. As will become evident from

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[8] There is no relationship between the level of earnings of welfare mothers, while on welfare, (II-05) and their level of education--at any level of education. Those with less than a ninth grade education earned an average of 11.5 percent (N=131, sd=22.3), those with a nine to eleven year education an average of 12.7 percent (N=215, sd=26) and those with a high school diploma earned 15 percent (N=101, sd=25.4) of their income ($F<1.0$, p=n.s.).

[9] Forty-one percent (54) of working mothers with eleventh grade education or less and 44 percent (46) of those with a high school diploma earn less than $330/month ($x^2$=n.s.). At the top end of the income scale, 24 percent (54) of working mothers with less than high school and 33 percent (46) of those with diplomas earned $450/month or more ($x^2$=1.0, p=n.s.). Perhaps some high school graduates have a better chance at a normal income but the difference is not statistically significant. The figure of $450, which about marks the upper quartile, is little over $100/week--barely subsistence level for a mother with two or three children. The general conclusion, then, is that for neither population does a high school diploma enable them to enjoy a higher earned income than is earned by those with less education.

TABLE VI-7

FAMILY INCOME BUDGETS FOR WELFARE AND WORKING MOTHERS
AT THREE EDUCATIONAL LEVELS IN JUNE 1970
(Means)*

SOURCES OF INCOME	WELFARE MOTHERS 8th Grade or Less (114)	WELFARE MOTHERS 9th-11th Grades (117)	WELFARE MOTHERS High School Graduate+ (82)	WORKING MOTHERS 8th Grade or Less (10)	WORKING MOTHERS 9th-11th Grades (33)	WORKING MOTHERS High School Graduate+ (41)
Earnings						
Adult	79.38	95.11	124.54	237.20	317.87	279.12
Child	6.57	10.84	1.62	21.90	19.18	20.12
Total Earned	85.66	103.43	125.90	259.10	337.33	299.21
Benefits						
Welfare	259.73	249.81	249.79	11.40	1.00	14.43
Social Security	11.91	6.17	9.60	19.30	8.24	21.17
Insurance	.99	2.45	1.00	1.00	1.00	6.63
Child Support	2.21	10.45	15.18	5.90	29.42	32.60
Total Other	14.59	27.81	17.50	20.80	21.72	34.00
Total Income	375.14	394.62	416.10	317.50	398.60	408.34

* Standard deviations omitted for clarity of presentation.

the remainder of the analysis, this is not attributable to the fact that they command higher wages. Rather, education is associated with their working more in the course of the month and, eventually, relinquishing welfare. They are subject to the same wage ceiling--retarding salary improvement after high school--as the working mothers. In the case of both the welfare and the working mothers, an increase in education is associated with higher child support payments. The more educated fathers are probably more responsible in remitting funds to their children.

Since education does not provide access to high paying jobs, but does, nevertheless, increase the likelihood of working, it must touch another aspect of motivation to work. Perhaps, in cultural settings where children go further in school, a work expectation is more institutionalized. They may work because of some inner meaning which work has rather than for the extrinsic reward. As suggested in the chapter on the WIN Experience, life style may be the key. Working implies involvement in relationships outside the home. The motivation to work may be intrinsic to the meaning of these relationships.

Education may stimulate wider interests and a sensitivity to the community. Specifically, the educated women become aware of day care centers, community facilities, which assist her in further widening her horizons (IV-18). In the welfare population, 37 percent (345) of those with less than high school and 50 percent (101) of those with a diploma could name a day care center (x^2=5.0, df=1, $p<.05$). In the working sample, the comparable figures were 39 percent (54) and 57 percent (46) (x^2=3.1, df=1, $p<.10$). Welfare and working populations of the same educational level are equally likely (37 percent and 39 percent respectively for those with low education and 50 percent and 57 percent respectively for those with higher education) to know of a day care center. Thus, the awareness of the facility is related to education rather than to membership in a welfare or working community.

Education, in inducing widening horizons, makes the restrictions of a homemaker role more onerous. Attitude toward housework reflects the influence of education. Table VI-8 shows the proportion at each educational level who dislike housework (IV-45).

TABLE VI-8

PROPORTION OF WELFARE AND WORKING MOTHERS
WHO SAY THEY DISLIKE HOUSEWORK VERY MUCH
(in percents)

EDUCATION	WELFARE MOTHERS	WORKING MOTHERS
less than 9th	15 (126)	13 (15)
9th - 11th	29 (214)	21 (38)
High School Graduate+	38 (101)	33 (46)
	$x^2=15.0$ df=2 $p < .001$	$x^2=3.0$ df=2 p=n.s.

Within each educational level, reading the table horizontally, there is little difference between the proportions of welfare and working mothers who dislike housework. However, among welfare mothers, the higher the education, the greater the dislike of housework. The finding seems to be paralleled among working mothers though the differences are not statistically significant. Thus, education is a significant variable in increasing the interest in working. The mechanism by which this happens is independent of monetary rewards. The effect of education is through its impact on life styles--here illustrated by its effect in extending interest in the occupational world.

Thus, the manifest factors of race, age, marital status, education and even of child dependency are merely convenient ways of thinking about the likelihood of working. Underlying these manifest factors and correlated with them are more fundamental explanations. These explanations concern the life styles that produce particular attitudes toward the proper role of women at home and at work. These include beliefs about a mother's obligations, the stability of personal relations and interest in widening social horizons. These factors are more salient than is the economic incentive in explaining why some mothers work.

Work, Welfare and Style of Life

The Working Welfare Mother: A Compromise with Tradition

Each of the common sense variables examined in the previous section exerts its influence through more general phenomena with which they are associated. When a racial difference exists, as in the case of the Puerto Ricans, the issue resolves itself into one of dependency which, in turn, becomes a socio-cultural question as to why some have more dependents and feel they must care for them personally. Age stands as a proxy for stage in the family life cycle, marital status and having preschool children, and, at the older end of the population, as a proxy for intellectual incompetence and abnormal personalities. Stabilization of relations within the family seems to be the cognate of stabilization of relations to the economy of exchange. That older mothers, welfare mothers in particular, are more likely to be of lower intellectual competence and to show signs of personality pathology could either be cause or consequence of their work situation. Possibly, the failure to advance and their retention in servile work is deleterious to the personality. Education widens their horizons, especially to include the relations of the occupational world. Reasons for working are not limited to the objectively economic but revolve around interest in establishing social relations associated with work. The previous section has done little more than signal the underlying explanations. Much more must be said about the types of family instabilities which may affect work, the relevant content, the specific norms of the life style or the specific types of intellectual incompetencies or psychopathologies which are relevant. The specificiation of all of these must await a more intensive study.

At this time, a schematic model may be suggested. A young girl with a traditionalist orientation toward her role, may, as her first and basic attempt to adjust, enter a relationship with a man and become a mother. If he remains with her, she continues in this role--caring for her children and, from time to time, accepting traditional employment as in personal service. If he does not remain, and she has no family to fall back on, she accepts welfare. If she has a relatively high education, she may enter the working world, keeping the size of her family small. More likely, she will marry by her mid-twenties and leave welfare for homemaking. As the children become less dependent, she may return to work--a married working mother. If the marriage is unstable, she may find herself a deserted or divorced woman with children in her thirties. She may then become a working mother by reason of perceived necessity. If she is very committed to the homemaker role, she may accept welfare even at this age. If, however, she is of rather low intellectual ability or has an unstable personality, she may not marry or not get off welfare in the first place. As others move from welfare to work, a certain number of incompetents remain as a residual to swell the ranks of the older welfare recipients.

Economic incentive is not the only "pull" of the working world. Welfare stigma is not a relevant "push" from dependency. The stigma of welfare affects welfare and working women alike. Women who work are drawn to work more than they are repelled by welfare. The salient difference between the working and the welfare populations are differences of life style--reflected in cultural preferences and social relational preferences. In an earlier chapter, a distinction was made between modernizing and traditional life styles. To the extent that a life of work is associated with modernizing culture and welfare with traditional, the transition is not sharp, but shaded. Work and welfare are not polar opposites. Either as a way of life is not an all or nothing choice. Welfare mothers may work part time or alternate periods of work with periods of welfare. They need not then be modernizers but may be a traditionalist working population. Of 373 welfare mothers reinterviewed in the summer of 1970, 129 had supplemented their welfare income by working during the year (IX-5). These will henceforth be called working welfare mothers. This includes twenty of the 45 WIN trainees, (twenty-five WIN trainees had either required only instruction or did not report the apprenticeship as work), and 109 others who worked outside the WIN program assignments. In fact, 45 percent (45) of WIN trainees, 41 percent (83) of nominees and 30 percent (235) of those deferred by WIN worked during the year (x^2=5.9, df=2, $.05 < p < .10$). Of the 129 persons who worked, 71 had been deferred by WIN.

Why would WIN selection not have been more clearly associated with working? WIN selection and interest in work are not coterminous concepts. WIN selected modernizers--women who sought not only work but sought mobility. The difference is apparent from Table VI-9 which shows the types of jobs the working welfare (excluding WIN trainees), the working population and the WIN trainees held between the first and second interviews.

TABLE VI-9

FIELDS OF EMPLOYMENT FOR WORKING WELFARE
(EXCLUDING WIN) MOTHERS, WORKING MOTHERS
AND WIN PARTICIPANTS
(in percents)

FIELD OF EMPLOYMENT	WORKING WELFARE	WORKING	WIN
Personal Service	39	17	10
Manufacturing	15	28	40
All Other	46	55	50
	(102)	(85)	(20)

x^2=17.7, df=4 , $p < .01$

The category "All Other" consists almost entirely of service occupations other than personal service. About half are in maintenance service--such as, cleaning woman in hospitals and office buildings--and about half in business service--such as clerks or cashiers in offices or stores.

When welfare mothers work, they are more likely than regularly working women to enter domestic service and only rarely enter manufacturing. For their part, working women are more likely than the specially selected WIN trainees to take personal service jobs and less likely to enter manufacturing. The entrance of WIN participants into manufacturing offers an opportunity for social and cultural mobility, a change in their cultural milieu, without, necessarily, providing income mobility.

Working welfare mothers, and, to some extent, working mothers, are employed within a traditionalist framework of service occupations. In contrast, modernizers, such as the WIN trainees, and to a smaller extent, the working mothers, tend to enter industrial occupations. Personal service places the worker in a direct subordinate relation to the client. Service occupations, in general, are distinct from industrial occupations in the type of social relations, and, as a result, the type of cultural and social milieu they foster.

The previous section comparing welfare and working mothers examined the attraction of work. The next few pages analyze the decision to stay home--which usually implies a decision to accept welfare in this group. For this part of the analysis, it will be useful to treat "working welfare" mothers as a special category. These are women who have chosen primarily to stay home and accept welfare but who become engaged in the world of work on a part time basis. The term "welfare mothers" will refer to those almost completely dependent on welfare. The term "working mothers" will be retained for those whose income derived primarily from earnings (10).

Work and Homemaking: Another False Dichotomy

Some women choose to be mothers without being wives. Were the female heads of household in this study strongly motivated to be wives, a good proportion might indeed be married. Of 106 AFDC mothers who were single in 1969, only one had married by the time of the second interview. Of 183 who reported themselves separated, eight had remarried, and of 32 who were divorced, two had remarried. That is, of 321 women eligible for marriage, only 11 (about 3 percent) married or remarried within the course of the year. At that rate, ten years would be required for even a third to marry or remarry.

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[10] There may appear to be happenstance to this classification, based on behavior in a particular year. An AFDC recipient who did not work in this particular year, perhaps due to illness or special burdens of dependency, might have worked another year, and, as such, might in terms of cultural orientation, be a working welfare mother. The contrary may also be true. Yet, on a probabalistic basis, those categorized according to their form of maintenance in this particular year do tend to have different styles of maintenance in general. The questionnaire probed work experience prior to the first interview (III-65). All of the working mothers, by definition, had work experience. Ninety-four percent (128) of the working welfare mothers and eighty percent (237) of the welfare mothers had had work experience prior to the study (x^2=11.9, df=1, $p < .001$). Thus, working in a particular year does discriminate between those with generally higher and lower tendencies to work.

The maternal-homemaker role has been described as an alternative to entering the economy of exchange. Welfare, working welfare and working mothers, who have made various choices with respect to work, will be compared in terms of their affinity for a mother-homemaker role. Again, though the population is classed according to its labor force status, the analysis treats that status as if it were the dependent variable (see footnote 6).

Some of the young welfare mothers are temporarily on welfare, accepting aid while their children are young. Some will eventually go to work whether they remarry or not. Their welfare status is related to position in the family life cycle. Of course, whether a husbandless mother of preschoolers accepts welfare involves her cultural orientation and her access to alternative forms of support. The number of children a woman bears, while also directly related to her age, reflects her commitment to being a mother--the most direct indicator. This indicator is limited because the desire to bear children is not necessarily identical with the desire to rear children.

Sixty-five percent (239) of the welfare mothers, sixty-one percent (127) of the working welfare but only 33 percent (101) of the working mothers have three or more children living at home with them (I-65) ($x^2=30.7$, $df=2$, $p < .001$). Welfare mothers have more children at every age (see Table VI-5). Working welfare mothers are closer to non-working welfare mothers in this respect than to working mothers.

Sometimes there is an inconsistency between an actual norm, what people do, and an ideal norm, what they believe desirable. Not so in this case. Respondents specified an ideal number of children for families in their circumstances (IV-28). An ideal of three or more children was accepted by 38 percent (238) of the welfare mothers, 28 percent (128) of the working welfare and by 17 percent (86) of the working mothers ($x^2=13.82$, $df=2$, $p < .001$). In each instance, here, too, labor force status is related to family attitude.

Having many children and recommending a high ideal family size is associated with occupying primarily a maternal-homemaker role, that is, with being a welfare mother. Commitment to family life, as measured by this indicator, is negatively associated with interest in a working role.

The complementary test is a correlation between the three labor force (or homemaker) statuses and an indicator of interest in work. The attitude toward ideal number of children may be treated as a joint function of labor force status and interest in work. Table VI-10 shows the relation between Gross Motivation to Work (III-39) and estimate of ideal number of children among working, working welfare and welfare mothers.

We notice two interesting things--one expected and one not expected. The expected result is, reading horizontally, that at each level of Gross Motivation to Work, the working welfare and, in the last case, the working population as well, proposes smaller sized families. The negative correlation between ideal family size and labor force status holds irrespective of the attitude towards working. Real involvement in the world of work is inconsistent with preferring a large family. The unexpected result is, reading

TABLE VI-10

PROPORTION SAYING FAMILY IDEAL SHOULD BE THREE OR MORE CHILDREN ACCORDING TO GROSS MOTIVATION TO WORK AMONG WELFARE, WORKING WELFARE AND WORKING MOTHERS
(in percents)

GROSS MOTIVATION TO WORK	WELFARE	WORKING WELFARE	WORKING	
Low	35 (163)	26 (99)	*	$x^2=1.75$, df=1, p=n.s.
Medium	43 (42)	23 (31)	*	$x^2=3.26$, df=1, $p < .10$
High	50 (32)	39 (28)	17(90)	$x^2=15.16$, df=2, $p < .001$
*insufficient cases	$x^2=3.0$ df=2 p=n.s.	$x^2=2.2$ df=2 p=n.s.		

vertically, that among welfare and working welfare mothers, the higher the motive to work, the more the interest in a large family. This finding, though consistent in both cases, is not statistically significant. Unfortunately, too few cases of working mothers of low and medium Gross Motivation to Work prevent testing the relationship there. This second, unexpected, result argues that the Gross Motivation to Work measure is a general achievement measure. Those interested in effort in the occupational field are also more ambitious in building a family. Occupational achievement drive and family building drive are correlative rather than incompatible. Both require people of high energy.

Juxtaposing the two results suggests that homemaking and working are not attitudinally incompatible but, for practical mechanical reasons, the two roles cannot be actualized simultaneously. The antithesis between work and homemaking is a false dichotomy and appears in our culture because occupational life is organized in time and place so as to rule out simultaneous realization of both roles.

The ideal family size recommended, in a sense, reflects the respondent's self image as a mother. When she actually determines family size in the face of her economic situation and by negotiating it with a man, a larger element of reality enters. The assertion is, in part, projective. A mother's evaluation of herself in terms of what she believes her children expect of her is another aspect of her self image on which data are available. A scale measured the mother's conception of the importance her children attach to her fulfilling the maternal role (IV-56) (11). Items asked whether her children feel that a mother should work to buy the things the family needs even though

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[11] As may be noted from Appendix B, the scoring procedure for this item in the working mother questionnaire differed from that in the welfare mother questionnaire. Thus, the scores may not have exactly parallel meanings in both cases.

they would then see her less often or whether she should stay at home though this would mean they will not receive the things they need. Seventy-eight percent (238) of the welfare mothers, 63 percent (127) of the working welfare and 39 percent (102) of the working mothers felt it was relatively more important (scores 4-10) that the mothers stay at home rather than go to work, that the children feel strongly about the maternal role ($x^2=48.42$, df=2, $p < .001$). Mothers who stay home and accept welfare believe this is what their children expect them to do. Working mothers do not share this image. The item itself almost verbalizes the rationale which enables a working mother to absent herself from the home.

These attitudinal questions alone do not provide a basis for inferring the complementarity of familial and economic roles. The questions are formulated to force a choice, perhaps an unrealistic one, between mothering and working. The choice is built into the wording of the question on children's attitudes. The incompatibility is only with respect to competing demands on time. She could be both a mother and provide for the family if she could obtain funds from welfare, from an inheritance or from alimony, or if she could earn enough working only during school hours. Oppositely, she could avoid both roles simultaneously, becoming a neglectful mother, taking to drink or abandoning the children while she has an affair. That is, theoretically, she may be attached to both roles or to neither role as well as choosing one over the other.

Under our social conditions, however, a female head of household who enters the labor force shifts the emphasis in her role performance from the internal managerial, expressive functions to the external, instrumental functions of the breadwinner. Were mothers able to do work at home, as in a cottage industry, the conflict with performance of the traditional maternal role might be diminished. Were she working in personal service, as a housekeeper in a manor, for instance, where she might keep her children with her, she would not have to compromise her maternal role. If, on the other hand, she works in a factory, she would be away at a work place during hours when children are at home. A choice would be forced. Of course, the choice is not seen as structurally imposed. These mothers are embedded within our system and unlikely to perceive structural alternatives to it. The work situation itself socializes her in this way. However, if one accepts the structure and looks for options within it, then the choice between home and work is found to be associated with a change in attitude. It is to the sources of such attitudinal changes that we turn in the next section.

The Openness to Knowing About Child Care

We have uncovered two false dichotomies--that between work and welfare and that between work and homemaking. The first results from the view that work and welfare are the only ways of relating to the economy. The second arises from the belief that mothers have mutually exclusive tendencies either to devote themselves to home and children or to assume the role of provider, entering the world of work. Neither distinction is so sharp. The low income population studied here typically lives on a combination of earnings and benefits and the stength of a mother's attachment to work is not, intrinsically, at the expense of her attachment to homemaking. The exclusivity is taught by the realities of our structure.

The polar types of the homemaker versus the working mother are heuristically useful as "ideal types." They permit study of factors which favor one or the other choice when a mother is under pressure to make such a choice.

In the previous pages, we discussed some characteristics of women drawn in the wider world of work and of women oriented to the maternal role. The fundamental social factor predisposing to one or the other choice is child dependency. Underlying and beyond that factor is a range of attitudes, definitions of the preferred style of life supported by a net of social relations. Dependency is a conspiracy of biological predisposition and social prescriptions and proscriptions knit together by the threads of a life style.

The obligation to protect dependents may be entered into for a long term. This happens with a commitment to a large family, as described above, or the acceptance of responsibility for an aged or ailing parent. On the other hand, the severity of household obligations may pass in a few years. Having preschool children is a transitory impediment to work, a function of the stage in the family life cycle (I-63). Thirty-seven percent (102) of the working mothers and 66 percent (127) of the working welfare mothers and 79 percent (237) of the welfare mothers have children under six at home (x^2=55.6, df=2, p $<$.001). Few associations in this study stand out more starkly.

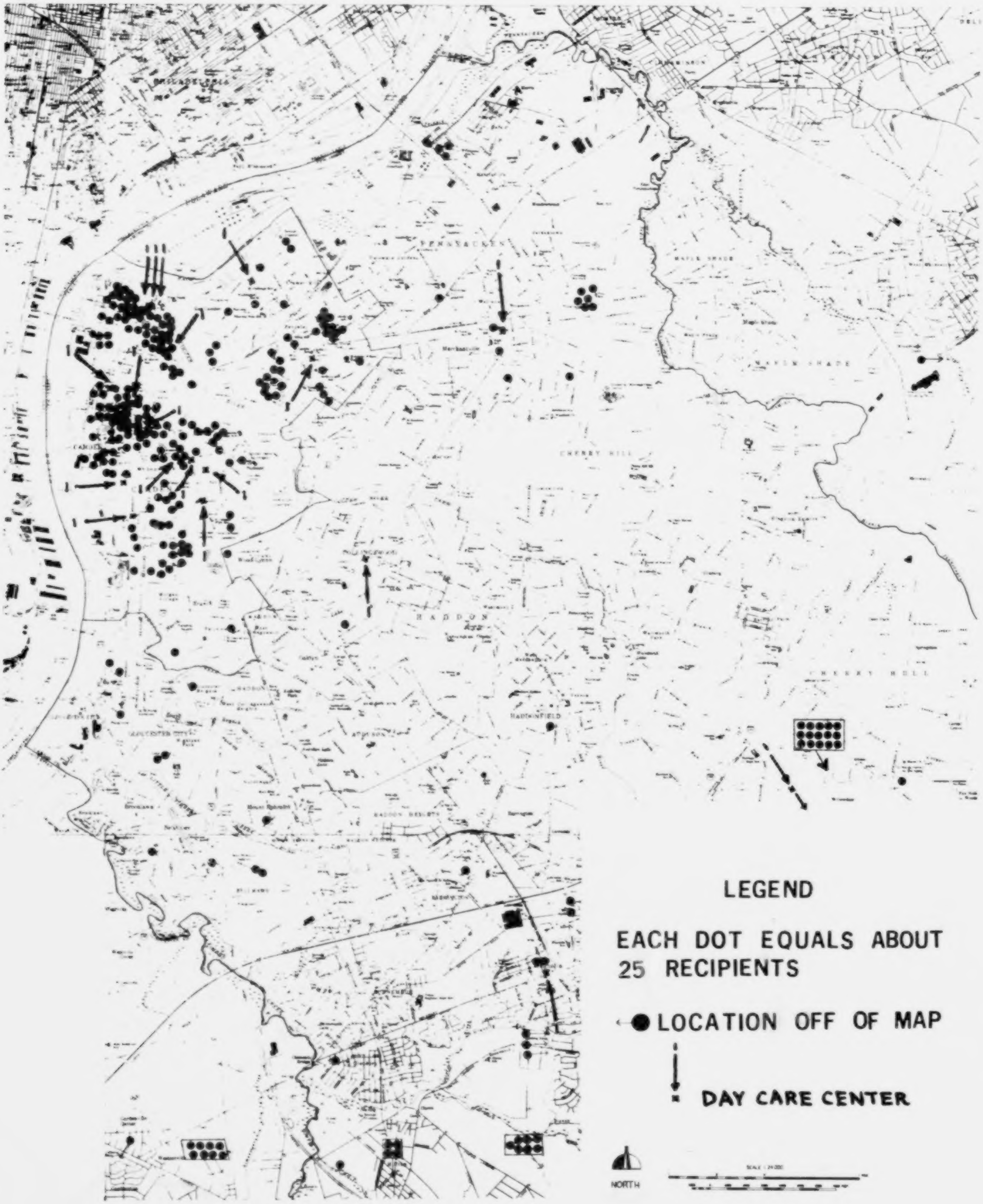
Yet, responsibility for small children does not tell the whole story about decisions to work. Over a third of those who worked regularly and nearly two-thirds of those who worked part time had children under six. On the other hand, one in five welfare mothers, women totally dependent on welfare, had no small children at home. Dependency appears as a situational exigency, but the situation is riven with decisions. Having small children is a nearly unanimous decision of men and women of a particular age but having small children without continuing economic support from their father occurs under more specific cultural and human relational conditions. Further, once having small children, the mother's willingness or interest in making alternative arrangements for their care rests on the meaning to her of home, of children and of work.

Her preference for alternate provisions for child care reflects these attitudes. Arranging care by friends or relatives retains the relationship within or near the family. Engaging a sitter keeps care within the home but involves an unrelated person. Placing a child in a day care center involves both strangers and another setting.

Over a dozen day care centers were scattered throughout the Camden study area. Map VI-1 shows their location with respect to the homes of welfare mothers in Camden. A day care center was operating within walking distance of the majority of welfare homes.

MAP VI-1

DAY CARE CENTERS AND HOUSEHOLDS WITH MOTHERS RECEIVING AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN IN CAMDEN COUNTY, N.J. (AUGUST 1969)


PHILADELPHIA
PENNSAUKEN
MAPLE SHADE
CHERRY HILL
HADDON
HADDONFIELD
GLOUCESTER CITY
HADDON HEIGHTS
LEGEND
EACH DOT EQUALS ABOUT 25 RECIPIENTS
● LOCATION OFF OF MAP
DAY CARE CENTER
NORTH

Of eighteen such centers on a 1971 list, seven were operated by or on the premises of churches (12). The other centers were either private or established by Camden County. Many welfare mothers who do not use these facilities do not perceive day care centers as a live option. A question intended to assess awareness of the availability of day care centers (IV-08), referred to earlier in this chapter, revealed that knowledge of the existence of day care centers is a function of interest in being part of the wider community. Since working implies such participation, mothers who work are more likely to know of the centers. Fifty-three percent (102) of the working mothers, 39 percent (127) of the working welfare and 39 percent (239) of the welfare mothers know of a center ($x^2=6.3$, df=2, $p < .05$). A permanent commitment to the world of work places a premium on such knowledge. That it is the permanent character of the commitment is suggested by the fact that the fully employed working mothers are more knowledgeable here than welfare mothers but the working welfare and fully dependent welfare mothers do not differ in this respect. Welfare mothers, whose social horizons are more limited, are likely to discover day care only when it becomes practically relevant to them. Forty-two percent (326) of welfare mothers with preschool children and 33 percent (117) of those with no preschoolers had such knowledge ($x^2=6.8$, df=1, $p < .01$). Among working mothers, this knowledge about day care is independent of whether they have preschool children.

Even if they do not differ in their knowledge, welfare and working welfare mothers do differ in their attitudes toward day care (IV-10). Twenty-nine percent (225) of the welfare and 40 percent (111) of the working welfare mothers would prefer day care centers over the other child arrangements ($x^2=3.9$, df=1, $p < .05$). This preference for the day care center is stronger among welfare mothers with preschoolers. Thirty-seven percent (317) of those with and 22 percent (87) of those without preschoolers prefer day care over other child care arrangements ($x^2=23.3$, df=2, $p < .01$). The differential in attitude between welfare and working welfare mothers suggests that the predisposition to like day care precedes the knowledge. Those intending to work are more open to the broader community and more open to learn about day care centers. Preferences, and the knowledge that follows, are a function of the goals they set for themselves. Readiness to delegate the child care function is a move toward modernizing their life styles.

The working world requires a more routinized living than does the family world. A day care center, being more dependable than either friends or a sitter, fits more easily into the lives of working mothers. A day care center enables a mother to solve child care problems without incurring obligations to friends and relatives--just as the welfare system, in general, implies the substitution of the less obligating relation to government for that entailed by the charity of family and friends. A day care center offers a relatively formal curricular structure for the child and less personal, individualized, attention than the child might receive were he to remain at home with his grandmother.

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[12] There were centers at the Broadway Methodist, Bethel AME, Episcopal Center, St. Joseph's (Roman Catholic), Mount Olivet Christian and Grace Lutheran Churches. Centers most frequently mentioned by welfare mothers were the Camden Day Nursery, the North Camden Day Care Center, the Broadway Children's Center and Mary H. Thomas Nursery Home, Inc.

Both routinization and impersonalization of childrearing is widely accepted for school age children. At that time, the family delegates the educational as well as some custodial responsibility to a specialized agency. Child care implies accepting this delegation of function earlier in child development. The greater readiness of working welfare than of welfare mothers for this is part and parcel of their own more extensive social participation (13). Access to information is but one aspect of becoming part of a net of social relations. These same social relations open the way to employment.

The Scope of Social Relations and Work

Employment is made possible by relational links between the family and the net of relations of which the occupational world is constituted. The chances of employment are increased when the family is not isolated but is related to other families or agencies which, in turn, may provide links to the occupational world. The family's integration into the community is reflected, negatively, by its rate of residential mobility. High residential mobility is antithetical to close neighborhood social relations. It interrupts the informational network which provides knowledge of work opportunities and may interrupt the job relations as well. The number of times the family had moved in the five years previous to the study measures the rate of mobility (IV-15). Eleven percent (102) of the working mothers, 20 percent (127) of the working welfare and 28 percent (239) of the welfare mothers moved three or more times between 1964 and 1969 (x^2=12.9, df=2, $p < .01$). Frequent moving and non-work (or welfare) go together.

This correlation of mobility and labor force status might not hold in the middle classes where residential mobility may be occasioned by occupational mobility--a job change leading to a residential change. Of course, families move for many reasons. Their neighborhood requirements may change as they advance in the family life cycle. Population change may make them strangers in an old neighborhood--and, of course, the social and economic waves that cause major migrations may from time to time affect the population of Camden. Some welfare households move when their housing is condemned to open space for urban renewal projects. Three moves, and, thus, four different residences, in five years is to become nomadic--moving here and there without time to settle into any neighborhood. Children may be withdrawn from school in mid-semester, a situation which increases responsibility for the mother and impairs adjustment of the children to school.

A short distance move might have less impact on employment than would a long distance move. In the former case, the family might retain its links to neighborhood and friends and remain in the same local labor market. A long distance move from an area of severe unemployment to one of higher

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[13] By the time of the second interview, the proportion of welfare mothers who could name a child care center increased from 39 percent (437) to 56 percent (371) (x^2=23.7, df=1, $p < .001$) An additional year on welfare exposed to efforts of welfare agencies as well as an additional year in Camden which strengthened their own integration into the community information network opened them to learn about child care facilities.

employment could increase chances of finding work--but not necessarily upon arrival. A man, newly arrived, might be ready for employment rather sooner than would a mother who must settle the household and arrange for schooling before presenting herself for work. A long distance move may be defined as one which brought them to Camden and its effect would be proportional to the length of time elapsed since that move (IV-12).

Thirty-four percent (436) of the entire welfare as compared with 19 percent (102) of the working population moved into the Camden area within the past five years ($x^2=9.0$, df=1, $p < .01$) [14]. Recent arrivals, less likely to be socially and economically integrated, may be overrepresented on welfare rolls. It does not follow that they come to obtain assistance. Welfare and working welfare mothers do not differ in length of residence in the area. Part time or sporadic employment is not difficult for the new arrival to find. Full time employment, settling into working as a way of life, may elude new arrivals. Steady jobs are more likely to be filled through friendship networks [15].

Work-Supporting Social Climates

Integration into an area, interaction with friends, would not by itself increase the likelihood of working unless working were a social norm among the friends. The social climate must be such as to support the idea of working. Thus, whether her friends work or receive welfare has a bearing on the mother's behavior in this respect. Eighty percent (99) of the working mothers, 68 percent (128) of the working welfare and 61 percent (236) of the welfare mothers report that most of their friends are working full time (IV-18) ($x^2=11.20$, df=2, $p < .01$). Clearly, those who belong to a circle of friends who work are more likely to work. Conversely, 36 percent (100) of the working mothers, 59 percent (126) of the working welfare and 65 percent (235) of the welfare mothers have some friends on welfare (IV-19) ($x^2=17.44$, df=2, $p < .001$). The greater the likelihood of interacting with others on welfare, the more acceptable is welfare dependence and the more acceptable is a non-labor force or unemployed status.

The mother's decision between work and welfare seems strongly associated with the norm in her setting. This relation may be established in several not mutually exclusive ways. The mother may simply conform to the behaviors and attitude of those about her. Such consistency makes the relation smoother. She accepts the standards of her friends, taking them as a "reference group." She may also have grown up in the same type of environment and learned the work or welfare orientation just as the friends did. The consistency would then be a consequence of a common socialization experience. A third possibility is that those who work seek out working friends and those on welfare seek out other welfare recipients. In any event, the associations become supportive of the mothers' orientations to the economy.

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[14] We do not know whether the reverse of this finding, that recent arrivals are more likely than old residents to be on welfare, is true. An answer to that question would have required a sample of the population of migrants and of old residents rather than the population of welfare recipients and working poor.

[15] It might be that the new arrivals are also the relatively young. However, the age distribution of the recent arrivals does not differ from that of the older residents. Thus, the influence of time in the area is independent of age.

How do we know, though, that the clustering takes place with respect to the question of employment. Perhaps, this is a secondary effect of their sharing other types of common fate. Mothers with small children may cluster and, since these mothers are less likely to work, it may appear that the non-work is their basis for interaction. This possibility may be checked by comparing the associational patterns of welfare, working welfare and working mothers in the same dependency situation. Table VI-11 compares the proportions who say most of their friends work among the several labor force categories according to whether they have preschool children.

TABLE VI-11

PROPORTION WHO SAY MOST OF THEIR FRIENDS WORK FULL TIME
AMONG WORKING WELFARE, WELFARE AND WORKING MOTHERS
WHO DO AND DO NOT HAVE CHILDREN UNDER SIX
(in percents)

	Have Children Under Six	Have No Children Under Six
Welfare Mothers	59 (183)	67 (51)
Working Welfare	66 (84)	72 (43)
Working Mothers	82 (38)	80 (61)
	$x^2=38.1$, df=2, $p < .001$	$x^2=2.6$, df=2, p=n.s.

Reading horizontally, for each of the three categories, having or not having children under six does not influence the proportion of mothers who move in a circle of the employed. Reading vertically, we find that, under both of these dependency situations, the positive relation between working and having friends who work remains. The main basis of clustering among friends is labor force status rather than their respective family situations.

Table VI-12 tests the reverse question, whether having a circle of friends on welfare is dependent on their own welfare status or on their common situation of being husbandless mothers with preschool children.

Reading horizontally, having preschoolers is irrelevant to their being in a welfare circle, with the possible exception of the working welfare mothers who, if they have small children, are slightly more likely to be in a welfare circle than if they do not. Reading vertically, having a welfare circle is negatively associated with labor force status. Welfare mothers are more likely than working mothers to be in a welfare circle.

TABLE VI-12

PROPORTION WHO SAY MOST OF THEIR FRIENDS ARE ON WELFARE AMONG WELFARE, WORKING WELFARE AND WORKING MOTHERS WHO DO AND DO NOT HAVE CHILDREN UNDER SIX
(in percents)

	Have Children Under Six	Have No Children Under Six
Welfare Mothers	32 (183)	32 (50)
Working Welfare	23 (83)	12 (42)
Working Mothers	13 (36)	5 (62)
	$x^2=6.2$, df=2, $p<.05$	$x^2=15.4$, df-2, $p<.001$

Those whose friends work are more likely to work and those on welfare are more likely to associate with welfare clients (16). Whether the consistency between their status and that of their friends is related to taking friends as a reference group to common socialization or to coping with similar situations cannot be determined from this data.

A consistency between labor force status of the mothers and that of their extended families would be more readily explained by concepts of socialization and common situational adaptation than by hypothesizing a selective process. The acquisition of relatives generally antedates labor force status (17).

Welfare, working welfare and working mothers have different patterns of interaction with relatives (IV-20). Fifty-three percent (101) of the working mothers, 39 percent (127) of the working welfare and 32 percent (239) of the welfare mothers, respectively, claimed that they see relatives "often" ($x^2=14.2$, df=2, $p<.001$). Working is positively associated with active extended family relations. The life style of welfare mothers is one of isolation, even with respect to their extended families. They also have less to do with day care facilities and do not participate in work relations. Perhaps, introversive rather than isolative may be the proper image. The evidence is that they interact little outside the home. Yet, their involvement within their four walls may be more intensive.

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[16] This does not resolve the question as to whether, in general, friendship groups are more likely to be conditioned by labor force status or by family status. The finding is that a categorization of women by the labor force status is associated more strongly with a second categorization by labor force status of friends than it is with a second categorization by family situation of friends.

[17] Labor force status precedes the acquisition of some relatives if one looks at mate selection and the family of in-laws. If the test question is that of visiting relatives rather than simply having them, the labor force status may lead to a decision as to whom to visit. The decision to visit relatives may be almost as flexible as the selection of friends.

Is welfare or working status of the mother also a function of the welfare or working status of her extended family? A question inquired into the proportion of relatives on welfare (IV-21). Fifty-eight percent (238) of the welfare, 70 percent (128) of working welfare and 79 percent (101) of working mothers have no relatives on welfare ($x^2=7.8$, df=1, $p < .01$). Working women are less likely to have relatives on welfare. Being on welfare is associated with belonging to a kinship group in which others are on welfare.

The absolute size of the figures should not be ignored. Three out of four welfare mothers are not in friendship cliques dominated by welfare recipients and two out of three are the only members of their extended kinship group on welfare. Being on welfare does not automatically place one in a welfare "group". Perhaps one in four may be in a welfare friendship "group," and, perhaps, one in ten welfare mothers may be in a welfare family (18).

The choice between work and welfare is influenced, in part, by social climate. Welfare mothers are less engaged in the broader community than are working mothers. The kinds of relationships enjoyed by working mothers are those which are supportive of her interest in having work-centered social relations. She knows about and likes day care centers, mixes with friends who work and is less likely than welfare mothers to have either friends or relatives who are welfare recipients. Working is social relating and it is part of a broader life style of social relating.

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[18] Welfare is often said to be an intergenerational condition, that is, learned through interaction. Seventeen percent (381) of the welfare and seven percent (86) of the working populations reported that their mothers' had ever been on welfare (IV-27) ($x^2=5.5$, df=1, $p < .02$). While a mother on welfare increases the probability of a daughter on welfare, the event does not occur with great frequency. Four out of five welfare mothers did not, at any time, have a welfare home. Of course, in earlier years and in other states, welfare was less available. With the greater current availability of welfare, there may be a slightly greater tendency to transmit it to children. Nineteen percent (91) of welfare mothers who have children over 18 not living with them report having a child receiving welfare (IV-24). This question regarding a child on welfare refers to a moment in time and so is not exactly comparable to the previous one about parental welfare which covers a number of years. The number of children living independently is also moot. Thus, the proportion given is not the proportion of adult children on welfare but the proportion of welfare mothers with adult children who have at least one child on welfare. One could argue reasonably that if at a given time one in five welfare mothers has at least one child on welfare, most welfare mothers would have an adult child on welfare at some time. This question merits exploration.

Self-Attitudes and Work

Positive attitudes to working develop in a milieu of friends and relatives who work. These are, of course, not the only sources of positive attitudes toward working. Perhaps the best inventory of the sources of such attitudes are described in Chapter IV as those engendering a modernizing life style--mobility aspiration, an active, extroverted personality and interest in a wider social life.

The decision to work involves a meshing of a task and a personality. It rests on a judgment of the worthwhileness of the job and a judgment about one's ability to obtain a job and to perform in it. These are but two of the attitudes involved in a work decision but they are two strategic attitudes.

A judgment that one is competent to manage a job, or any role, would predispose one to enter that role and, contrariwise, a belief that one is not qualified would discourage an attempt to enter the role. A belief that one is socially acceptable to an employer may be decisive for taking the first step--applying for a job. A scale was administered measuring optimism about the mother's finding a job (III-25). The items asked whether having been unemployed would be held against her, if her chances of getting a job are good, that she would be hired on the spot if people knew what she could do, that she could find a job if she tried hard enough, that there are many employers who would hire her, that her color or nationality will not be held against her and that people are helping her find work. Agreement with these seven items as stated was taken to indicate an attitude of optimism about finding a job. Fifty percent of the working mothers (101) scored high (scores 22-28) as compared with 46 percent (128) and 40 percent (237) of the working welfare and welfare mothers respectively (x^2=n.s.). While not statistically significant, the results suggest that believing a job obtainable is associated with holding one. This is a gatekeeper attitude which is not necessarily consistent with social climate. Optimists might be found in a dreary social climate and pessimists where employment is high (19).

The belief that one can get a job is not enough. A belief that one will persist in a job also conditions the likelihood of taking a job. A scale measured willingness to endure difficulties in order to work (III-30). Four items described job related difficulties: time spent commuting to a job; risk of being laid off; the possibility of a demotion or the necessity

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[19] The relation between social climate and this attitude is unclear. Among all welfare mothers, there is no relationship between the proportion of friends who work full time and their own optimism about finding a job. The proportion of friends on welfare and optimism about getting a job are also unrelated. Examples of others who get jobs or do not get jobs seem to be irrelevant to the optimism measure. The optimism factor may be idiosyncratic, a personal self evaluation. One must look into the personality, to more deep seated self evaluations, to understand it.

of taking training in a new field. Forty-nine percent (102) of the working mothers, 68 percent (128) of the working welfare and 75 percent (239) of the welfare mothers scored relatively low (0-7) indicating belief that they would not endure difficulties (x^2=22.0, df=2, $p < .001$). Accepting employment, then, is associated with a sense of willingness to endure job insecurities. While the first self judgment, optimism about finding a job, is not related to having friends who are employed, the second self judgment, willingness to endure, is related to the employment situation of others.

Table VI-13 shows the proportion of welfare mothers unwilling to endure difficulties according to the proportion of their friends working or on welfare.

TABLE VI-13

PROPORTION UNWILLING TO ENDURE DIFFICULTIES TO PERSIST IN A JOB (LOW SCORE III-30) ACCORDING TO PROPORTION OF FRIENDS WORKING FULL TIME AND PROPORTION OF FRIENDS ON WELFARE AMONG WELFARE MOTHERS
(in percents)

	PROPORTION UNWILLING TO ENDURE DIFFICULTIES			
Proportion Friends working full time				
Most	24 (285)	x^2=12.1	df=2	$p < .01$
Few	34 (89)			
None	45 (69)			
Proportion Friends on Welfare				
Most	38 (116)	x^2=5.8	df=2	$p < .10$
Few	25 (157)			
None	28 (166)			

Those with most friends working and few on welfare are most willing to endure difficulties to persist in a job. Perhaps this attitude is subject to social influence because it refers to norms about what is appropriate to sacrifice for a job. In a sense, these are as much evaluations of the attributes of job as of the self--commuting, stability of the job, the rank of the position and the level of competence or training it requires.

This finding but touches on personality factors in the choice between work and homemaking. The positive evaluation of the self in a working situation is a necessary but not sufficient condition. An interest in the wider world of the community and the kind of personality which permits a mother to follow a routine, complete a task in a disciplined way and interact smoothly with employers and fellow workers is also needed--but this goes beyond the scope of the present analysis.

Earned Income and Economic Polarization

The analysis to this point has treated the distribution of income in a population, at a point in time, as a function of social and personality variables. The position of individuals in the distribution is not fixed. As time passes, some will rise and some will fall in their level of income. Another, equally dynamic, question may be asked about factors influencing such changes. Since the welfare and working populations were interviewed twice, a comparison of their income at each point in time is possible. The factors accounting for changes in the levels of family income may then be explored.

An increase in earned income on the part of a welfare client is a sign that she is moving toward economic independence.

Of course, it must be remembered that working status is but one basis for terminating welfare. Marriage of the mother to an employed male or her receipt of some other income could also terminate the status. As mentioned above, only 16 individuals in the present sample terminated their welfare status between the first and the second interviews. Broader studies, however, have indicated average stays of one to two years. Doubtless, whatever the rate of turnover, a relatively permanent cadre of dependents is carried on welfare rolls. As clients flow through the system, each cohort leaves a residue, a contribution to the relatively permanent welfare population. The mobility of populations through welfare rolls is obscured by the study of the incumbents at a point in time. A more microscopic inspection allows us to view steps toward independence in terms of increasing reliance on earned income--among welfare recipients. The panel method of the present study was designed to cope with this problem. Between the first and second interviews with welfare mothers, June 1969 and June 1970, their mean total income increased from $332 (N=447, sd=131.80) to $394.50 (N=338, sd=173.40), an increase of $62.50 or 19 percent. The cost of living index rose in the Metropolitan Philadelphia area during this period roughly 6.3 percent. Welfare payments do not account for most of the increase in income. Mean welfare receipts in the population rose from $247.80 in 1969(N=435, sd=97.00) to $252.90 (N=373, sd=105.70), an increase of $5.10 or under three percent. Small increases in social security and some increase in income from sources such as remittances by parents, child support and pensions were reported. Altogether, they do not account for a large part of the income increase. The mothers' employment accounted for practically all of the increased income. In 1969, the average total earned income of welfare mothers was $58.60 (N=435, sd=114.60) while in 1970 it was $103.20 (N=373, sd=182.90), an increase of $44.60 or 76 percent. Earnings account for 71 percent of the increase in total income ($44.60 of the $62.50 increase). It is safe to assume that the increase in earnings is attributable more to additional work time than to a change in wage levels. What factors enable some welfare clients to raise their earnings? Having small children and a large family, as noted above, decreases the likelihood of working and, in consequence, the likelihood of increasing income. The depencency situation, however, changed little in the course of a single year. Some factors which might be expected to facilitate job location do not seem related to a change in earned income. The length of time families have been in the area (IV-12) is one such factor. The various occupations in which the mothers engaged also differed little in the amount of increase they allowed (III-66). The lowest increase ($23.50, N=58, sd=132.4) was experienced by those in maintenance service occupations and the highest ($63.40, N=83, sd=181.4) in personal service (t= 1.0, p=n.s.). This difference is not statistically significant. Increase in earned income is also not related to years of formal schooling (II-72) (F=.72, p=n.s.), nor to age (I-60) (F=.33, p=n.s.).

While length of time in the community, type of occupation, age and education do not seem related to income improvement, the wage level in their last job prior to receiving welfare does make a difference (III-72). Those whose weekly earnings had been relatively low ($49 a week or less) had a mean increase in their month's earned income of $28.96 (N=26, sd=118.8). Those with medium ($50-$69 a week) earnings increased $129.70 (N=20, sd=166.1) and those with relatively high ($70 and over a week) prior incomes increased $190.10 (N=34, sd=265.9) (F=5.16, $p < .02$). This last group was earning about 50 percent of its total income. Conceivably, those with high potential earning ability will remain on welfare for a shorter period. These women were probably near the end of their need for welfare assistance.

This suggests a polarization of the welfare population based, in part, on their experience prior to entering the welfare system. Those who had had low income levels, who could not claim a living wage even when they worked, would be likely to remain longer on welfare. Those who had had high income levels return more rapidly to self support. Each cohort passing through the welfare system may polarize in this way. Certain families may snowball toward financial independence while others become increasingly caught in the patrimonial dependence. They come to constitute part of the welfare residual discussed above.

This process may also shed light on the puzzle that the level of earnings of this welfare population increases faster than did the general level of inflation. The study population was relatively stationary between interviews. New clients were not added. The second interview population had had an additional year of welfare experience. If, with length of time on welfare, certain clients begin to work more and more regularly, the number of days worked in the population as a whole in 1970 would have been greater than in that same population in 1969. This would account for some of the increase in earned income. If so, by studying factors associated with increase in earned income, we are identifying those who are working their way off welfare.

Polarization also seems to be taking place along racial lines. Table VI-14 shows the total earned income, change in earned income and welfare income of the racial groups.

The first column shows the average earned income attained by 1970. Puerto Ricans rank lowest. The second column, average increase in earned income between 1969 and 1970, is an approximation to a rate of increase--a measure of the speed with which they may attain self sufficiency. Those

TABLE VI-14

CHANGE IN EARNED INCOME AMONG WHITE, BLACK AND PUERTO RICAN WELFARE MOTHERS
(in mean dollars)

RACE	TOTAL EARNED INCOME (1970)	CHANGE IN EARNED INCOME (1969-1970)	WELFARE INCOME (1970)
White	110.40	54.33	217.90
	104.70	39.60	260.90
Puerto Rican	46.50	10.87	280.00
	p=n.s.	p=n.s.	F=5.70, $p < .01$

who are initially better off become increasingly better off. Another example of polarization is at hand. The gap increases. The whites and some of the blacks would be the first to achieve economic independence while the Puerto Ricans remain as a residual among welfare cases. Of course, this does not imply that the Puerto Rican women must remain welfare charges longer than others but only that remunerative employment will not likely be their way to financial independence. They may be more likely to leave welfare upon marriage or remarriage or by returning to their families in Puerto Rico.

Differences in earnings are, in part, balanced by welfare payments. As shown by the last column, the size of welfare payments is the inverse of the amount of earned income. This is not surprising since earnings and welfare payments are reciprocally related to size of family. The larger the family, the higher the welfare payment and the lower the earned income. As a result, while the total incomes are nearly equal, the composition of their incomes diverges in the polarization process. In 1969, welfare constituted 73 percent of the income of white mothers but only 57 percent of their income in 1970--a decline of 16 percent. The proportionate dependency on welfare of black mothers declined only 8 percent (from 73 percent to 65 percent) and of Puerto Rican mothers only 7 percent (from 86 percent to 79 percent) over this period. The more rapid decline of dependency among white mothers increased the gap between them and the others over the course of the year.

The polarization by race is not racial as such but relates to the contrasting styles of life. Puerto Rican women, even under the stress of impoverishment, hold tenaciously to the traditional homemaker role. In general, there is some visible relation between the polarization process and size of family, an indicator of commitment to the homemaker role. Mothers with one dependent child increased their earned income by $73.71 (N=59, sd=188.3) and those with two dependent children increased earnings by $50.80 (N=77, sd=147.2), with three or four by $37.55 (N=147, sd=191.2) and with five or more it increased only by $21.00 (N=88, sd=184.1) (F=1.07, p=n.s.) (I-65). The differences are not statistically significant, given the magnitude of the standard deviations. Yet, the consistency of the apparent inverse relation between number of children and change in earnings is impressive. The responsibilities of a mother of many children, disciplining, dressing and feeding them, while responding to their school scheduling and, in addition, the difficulty of planning for their illnesses, make meeting job requirements difficult. Welfare clients with fewer children have a shorter road to financial independence. Since a woman with many dependent children is also less likely to marry, her chances of leaving welfare by the marital route are also not encouraging.

The social milieu in the form of the culture of the extended family can be facilitating or may retard the movement toward financial independence. The proportion of relatives on welfare reflects the strength of the work norm within the family (IV-21). Welfare mothers with most of their relatives on welfare increased their earnings an average of $14.90 (N=43, sd=88.9). This compares with $24.31 (N=97, sd=184.4) for those with few and $56.06 (N=231, sd=192.4) for those with none of their relatives on welfare (F=1.62, p=n.s.). Though not statistically significant, the consistency of the change is impressive. Extended families with many of their nuclear units on welfare probably exist in a social setting of economic immobility. Cultural attitudes which predispose to the creation of impoverished female-headed households are probably institutionalized in that setting. These attitudes both support the norm of large families and a norm about the acceptability of welfare. Thus, the power of the culture, in its many faceted effects, may encourage some toward independence and hold others in financial dependence. This cultural difference adds to the economic polarization among welfare clients.

The proportion of friends on welfare (IV-19), an indicator of the immediately chosen cultural milieu, also affects the polarization process. The earnings of those having most of their friends on welfare increased by $21.70 (N=100, sd=122.5), as compared with $42.07 (N=129, sd=183.2) for those with few and $63.05 (N=137, sd=213.7) for those with no friends on welfare (F = .10, p=n.s.). Those with most of their friends on welfare would have little cause to think in terms of working. This situation conforms to the norm of their social setting. Those with no friends on welfare would, on the other hand, be deviant as a "husbandless" mother either among married women whose husbands support them or among working mothers. The very inconsistency between the socio-economic relation they maintain and that maintained by their friends would generate pressure to work.

The social climate becomes self validating, contributing its own share to the polarization process. Those who enter welfare from a non-welfare social environment initially earn more of their income and increase their earnings faster--presumably terminating welfare sooner than those from an environment in which welfare is common. From the data, we do not know whether the low earners are initially from a welfare saturated environment or whether, after becoming welfare recipients, those with the least tendency to earn are drawn to one another creating a welfare saturated environment.

The life style of Puerto Rican welfare recipients typifies the effect of traditionalism on welfare residualism. The women initially have the lowest earning capacity. They have many children, associate with welfare dependent relatives and friends and so wait in their welfare dependency to be rescued by marriage or their families. Failing either of these, they simply remain public charges, dropping further and further behind blacks and whites. Thus, mobility through the welfare rolls was sluggish during the year of the study. Few found complete release from welfare dependency. Yet a goodly number of welfare mothers were beginning to move toward self-support. Welfare dependency is not an either/or matter. There are degrees of dependency. The road to self support may be traversed with baby steps.

Patrimonial and Market Oriented Households: Two Life Styles

Welfare and working households in this study have much in common. Both are headed by "husbandless" mothers and live in the same general neighborhoods. Both populations were receiving roughly $390 per month in income during the late spring of 1970. Work and welfare are not two radically different ways of living. They are two ways of relating to the economy. Most of the welfare and working mothers have both earnings and a benefit income. The relative proportion of each type of income and the type of social relations they enter into to obtain this income, constitute the crucial distinction between them. For welfare mothers, the bulk of their income consists of welfare payments. Some added a few dollars a month through part time work, some pension and insurance benefits and a few gifts. Working mothers earned nearly all their income from fairly regular jobs. Gifts and government payments, in a small measure, supplemented this income. The real income of the welfare households may be slightly higher because it is not taxed, is supplemented by food stamps and free medical care and free child care services. Because of larger family size, the per capita income, and consequently, the standard of living, of welfare recipients may be a bit lower. Earnings do not increase with age and there is no correlation between level of education and level of earnings. They are equally convinced of the stigma attached to welfare. Why, under these circumstances, do some husbandless mothers choose to work while others remain on welfare?

The decisions of these mothers rest on the choice of different life styles. Commitment to a homemaker life style must be explained in terms of a series of underlying factors which propel some to shoulder dependents and to be reluctant to delegate the caring function to an outside agency. A commitment to a life style which included regular employment is encouraged where the mother has stable social relations which permit her to participate in a social network linked to the economy of exchange, where she has an interest in widening the scope of social relations beyond the confines of the household, where a social climate of working friends and relatives is supportive of wider horizons and, finally, where she has a personality which not only provides her with the objective competence and stability to hold a job but with an attitude toward the self as one who can obtain and hold a job. The movement of the welfare mothers in this study from economic dependency to independence in the course of the year was not dramatic. However, it has been possible to observe small steps toward independence as reflected in increased reliance on earned income on the part of welfare mothers. The welfare population tends to bifurcate, to polarize. Some recipients become increasingly independent while others, ultimately destined to constitute the welfare residual, remain dependent. Again, it is the personal life style and the social climate supporting it which determines the pole to which a welfare household will gravitate.

Two polar, "ideal typical" life styles underpin the choice of work and financial independence or of homemaking and financial dependence. The first is typified by the working mothers' households. They acquire their resources by entering a relationship of exchange with the economy--an economy in which employers are the gatekeepers. The working mother's style fits the modern industrial model in which households contribute labor to the economy in exchange for consumer goods. Unlike the typical household in an industrial society, this one is matrifocal, has no male head. The mother is the principal bridge between the family and the economy. She is both breadwinner and manager of the family. This is a market oriented household.

Welfare households receive resources without returning labor to the economy. This is reminiscent of patrimonial type socio-economic arrangements, such as those characterizing aristocratic extended families in medieval Europe. Patrimonially supported households may contribute non-economic values to the source of their support. They may enhance the power or the pleasure of the protector. Their existence may protect the social order both by controlling indigency and by sheltering children who might otherwise become public charges if not a public threat.

These patrimonially supported households differ from the traditional ones recorded in economic history. The welfare mothers' households are part of a state rather than an individual patrimony. This condition tends to minimize relationships between the welfare mother and the surrounding community while maximizing her orientation to her children. A patrimonially sustained household, in the traditional sense, is usually patrifocal. Welfare households are more like the patrimonies of polygamous chiefs of warrior or hunting societies whose wives manage matrifocal households, especially during their extended absences. As part of a traditional patrimony, the mother maintains two relationships--one to a husband, or, in general, to a fund, and the other toward her children. The choice of patrimonial living made by the non-working wife in the middle class is, in many ways, culturally similar to that of the AFDC mother. Both focus primarily on the home. The intensification of her relation to her children, having more children and believing she should have more children, is part of this choice. In the case of the AFDC mothers, one may speak of this choice as not being attitudinally disturbed by forces, such as education or migration into a new setting, which might extend her horizons or thrust her into a modernizing milieu. Relations to community, neighborhood and to an occupation remain loose. Welfare mothers may even be residentially mobile--floating through the community.

A patrimonial relation to the economy is distinguished by its manner of settling economic terms. Economic allocations to the dependent household in a patrimonial relation rest on considerations of substantive justice. Payments are adjusted in view of need and special relations to the disbursing authority. The social worker personally adjusting payments in terms of need is following this model. That welfare payments may continue securely over long periods increases their similarity to traditional patrimonial prebends. Payments are not contingent on reciprocal acts of the client. The performances required in exchange for welfare payments are not oriented to the source of payments and do not affect the size of payments. The reciprocity expected of welfare clients is that they sustain, socialize and protect their children and tend to the household chores. The welfare household differs from the traditional patrimonial in that it settles economic terms with an official of a bureaucracy. Decisions, in principle, are based on formal justice. Even when payments depend on need, as determined by the number of children, prescriptions for payment are defined by a set of universalistic rules. The official is an agent, guided in his decision by the way he classifies the case. All of this makes this particular version of patrimonialism a training ground for the ethic of the market.

Working mothers, as part of the economy of exchange, receive income in recognition of their occupational performances. In American society, wages are not directly dependent on extent of family dependency nor are they contingent on success in family management. Working mothers could abandon their families without incurring economic sanction. The working mother involves herself with relatives, friends or an institution to assure child care if she has small children. By entering an occupation, she develops relationships with employers and co-workers. Home life must be planned and time-coordinated around the daily work schedule. Household chores must be accomplished in less time. That some low income mothers choose to relate to community and occupational worlds is, in part, predictable from the setting in which they grew up. In particular, extended education goes far to provide the necessary broad social perspective underpinning a commitment to work despite the lack of incremental economic incentive for doing so. Women who become modernizers have few relatives on welfare and, in fact, have many friends who work. They are more socially involved, in general, spending more time with friends and with relatives. They are likely to have had previous work experience so that when they are left husbandless and with children to care for, work is a return to a familiar pattern. Being more open to the community, they are more likely to know about child care arrangements and even to prefer this rather formal institutional setting over entering into personal obligations around child care. They develop attitudes supportive of their goals. They are more optimistic about finding work and are prepared to endure some considerable difficulty, in travel time and inconvenience, to be able to work.

In practice, economic reward of the working mother is not a simple function of work performance. She becomes a low wage earner, in part, because of her weak bargaining position. The roots of this weakness derive from sexual as well as racial stigmas. On the other hand, by settling for a low income, she may be allowed to be flexible in meeting work requirements and so be able to adjust work to family. As a result, she may plead personal circumstances when she cannot perform--a substantive rather than formal element in the work relationship which makes it a training ground for a return to patrimonial dependency when a crisis occurs.

These are polar images of the life styles. In reality, several modifications exist. First, some welfare mothers find themselves in the traditional, patrimonial relation because they lack the intellectual competence or psychological stability to sustain a relation to the market economy. Second, some are in a patrimonial relation as a temporary adjustment to loss of a male breadwinner while they have preschool children or disabled dependents. Third, for others, the patrimonial relation is a cultural choice. They are mothers of large families and little concerned with the working world or any other aspect of the world outside the family. If mothers in this last category are not supported by a husband, by members of their extended family or from some fund, such as insurance, alimony or an inheritance, they become welfare charges. Fourth, some in the traditional female labor force, employed in domestic and other service occupations, may constitute a transitional category between the traditional and modernizing life styles. These are traditional occupations which are now being filled through market processes. Working as a domestic may be a combination of adoption by a family and the settling of a labor contract. Some working welfare and some working mothers are in this transitional category. Fifth, a few working welfare and working women become modernizers. The cultural change may be signalled by a move from traditional service occupations to manual manufacturing work. WIN participants tend to be modernizers. In the particular polity directed process which supports their modernization, they become politically as well as market-economically conscious.

The next chapter builds on this life style distinction describing relations of status and contract.

CHAPTER VII

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION, EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND DEPENDENCY AMONG MOTHERS

Jessie Bernard

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the relationship between a variety of variables--demographic and non-demographic--and the labor-force participation and employment status of women, primarily welfare mothers, and to explore some of the implications for welfare policy decisions. The perspective is a fairly long-range one; that is, it views the dilemmas now perplexing policy makers as part of the continuing transition from a pre-industrial world in which the nexus among people was one of "status" to a world in which the nexus among them is one based on money, the so-called "cash-nexus" of organized and industrialized societies. This transition, which began in the world of work almost two centuries ago, is still in process in the last vestige of the status world, the family. Since women have remained longest in the status world, it is among and in relation to them that the transitional problems are now most acute.

The general thesis here is that women on welfare respond to the general forces operating in our society in essentially the same way as do all women. That is, they respond to stress and to incentives in the same way, so that their behavior can be analyzed using the same concepts. Like the behavior of all women, it can be interpreted as a response to the structural imperatives of a society with a given sexual allocation of functions; where they differ is in their relatively greater vulnerability to certain stresses. This thesis does not, of course, imply that all women respond to these imperatives in an identical manner, that there are no individual differences among them in their responses. Among both welfare and other mothers, there are such differences. These, too, are therefore accorded recognition here.

Between Two Worlds: "Status" Versus "Contract"

In the nineteenth century, Sir Henry Maine called our attention to the transition which came with the industrial revolution from status to contract as factors determining the relationships among human beings. And for over a century this contrast has been elaborated by social scientists in a variety of disciplines. A host of concepts have been evolved to help us understand this revolution in human relationships: Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft, folk-urban, sacred and secular among them. Talcott Parsons has supplied us with a set of "pattern variables" which have also been used to describe the contrast between the nature of human relationships in pre-industrial or status-based and in industrial or contract-based societies. Thus relationships which are based on ascription rather than on achievement, which are diffuse rather than specific, which are particularistic rather than universalistic, which are affective rather than affectively neutral, have been attributed to preliterate, to developing, and to preindustrial societies. Such societies are status-type societies; relationships are based on love, duty, obligations. In a contract (1) world, on the other hand, relationships between and among people are more rationalistic, determined by calculations of gains and losses, and mediated by money. The bond between and among them thus becomes a cash nexus (2).

The Family Accommodation to the Cash-Nexus World

The family has resisted the transition to the cash-nexus world. In the status-type world of the family, one still does not have to "deserve", earn, win, achieve, or compete or care and support; one receives them because of his or her status as a member of the family (3). In the cash-nexus world of work, on the other hand, there is a formal exchange relationship; one does have to "deserve", earn, win, achieve, or compete. More and more men have been living in the world of the cash nexus for almost two centuries. But until fairly recently, most women have continued to live within the status world of the family in which the nexus was not cash but love and/or duty or obligation. The family itself thus became the stage where the two kinds of relationship, status and money-mediated, had to be accommodated.

Talcott Parsons has described the contrasting patterns and the way in which they have been accommodated in the past:

> The American family is in a delicate state of balance and integration with the rest of the social structure, notably the occupational structure. A somewhat fuller treatment of this is necessary as a basis for discussing some of the dynamic problems of the family. The most essential feature of our occupational system is the primacy of functional achievement as an ideal pattern which is highly institutionalized. This fact has a variety of implications.

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[1] Maine's choice of the term "contract" was not a propitious one. For contractual relations are very old and antedate the industrial revolution by milennia, as the covenant between Yahweh and his people illustrates. The feudal oath sealed a contractual relationship. The thing that was new with industrialization was not the contract but the cash nexus.

[2] Exchange of reciprocity theorists might argue that all societies are in effect contractual in nature, that there is at least an implicit contract wherever there is an exchange. Actually this is not so. Even if a wife does not cook and clean for her husband, he is not absolved from his obligation to support her; even if a child does not do his chores, the parent must still support him.

[3] The status position of the slave was originally the prototype of that of the family. The term "familia" among the Romans referred originally to the slaves ("famulus"). Under a slave system, the slave-owning community is in a cash-nexus relationship with respect to the slave whereas he remains in a status world. In the United States occupational discrimination against the male

In the first place, it implies that roles are organized about standards of competence or effectiveness in performing a definite function. That means that criteria of effective performance in a role and of selection to perform it must be predominatly universalistic and must be attached to impersonally and objectively defined abilities and competence through training. This contrasts sharply with the particularistic basis of role and status in a kinship group. Second, it means that the expectations of the role, together with its obligations and prerogatives, must be linked to the specific technical content of the function to facilitate its effective performance; therefore, functionally irrelevant elements must be subordinated or excluded. Third, procedures must be continually subjected to rational criticism, and a continual process of rationally founded improvement must be entered into. This is fundamentally incompatible with any traditionalized system of norms of behavior--the rightness of behavior is judged by its objective efficiency not by its conformity with models of the past.

In order that these functionally essential patterns be enforced, it is necessary that alternative tendencies which might interfere with them be eliminated or at least kept adequately within bounds. For an individual to be judged and selected on the basis of his personal performance and competence, it is essential that he should be free to change his status as an individual on the basis of these criteria. There cannot be a predetermined basis of status in terms of membership in a particularistic solidary group. Similarly, there must be ways of drawing clear lines between the functionally specific sphere of occupational concern and other spheres of concern. If other aspects of the individual's life involve other attitudes and standards, there must be sufficient institutional segregation from his occupational role to prevent interference with the latter.

The patterns of behavior institutionalized in the modern occupational system run counter to many of the most deep-seated of human needs and motivations, such as relatively unconditional loyalty to groups, sentimental attachment to persons as such, the need for security against competitive pressures, and the like. The functioning of our occupational system, therefore, is possible only by virtue of a relatively severe discipline, which involves both motivation to maintain a high level of performance under difficult conditions and adequate resistance to the types of behavior and attitude which, if allowed to develop far enough, would seriously interfere with functional efficiency.

Broadly speaking, there is no sector of our society where the dominant patterns stand in sharper contrast to those of the occupational world than in the family. The family is a solidary group

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black may be related to the tendency to retain him in a status relationship rather than allow him fully to enter the cash-nexus relationship.

> within which status, rights, and obligations are defined primarily by membership as such and by the ascribed differentiations of age, sex, and biological relatedness. This basis of relationship and status in the group precludes more than a minor emphasis on universalistic standards of functional performance. Similarly, the patterning of rights and obligations in the family is not restricted to the context specific to a positively defined functional role; rather, it is functionally diffuse. The family is treated as if entitled to call on any one of its members for any contribution within his power so long as it does not conflict with a higher obligation. Finally, instead of being defined in impersonal, emotionally neutral terms, the family is specifically treated as a network of emotionally charged relationships, the mutual affection of its members in our society being held to be the most important basis of their solidarity and loyalty.
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> Clearly, for two structures with such different patterns to pay crucially important roles in the same society requires a delicate adjustment between them . . . To an important degree their different patterns can be upheld only be mechanisms of segregation which prevent them from getting in each other's ways and undermining each other. Yet they must be articulated.
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> Broadly, this problem of structural compatibility is solved in the United States by making sure that in the type case only one member of the effective kinship unit, the conjugal family, plays a full competitive role in the occupational system. This member is the husband and father. (Parsons, 1959, pp. 262-3)

This role-segregation ideology underlay the traditional belief that a woman's place was in the home. Women accommodated to the structural incompatibility of the status and the cash-nexus types of relationship by eschewing roles in the occupational cash-nexus system. The unwritten rule was that women must not seriously engage in paid employment; such participation in the cash-mediated world of work would interfere with the accommodation called for in the status world of the family. The preservation of family solidarity depended on leaving participation in the cash-nexus world of work to their husbands and fathers. Entrance into the cash-nexus world led to the economic independence of women, a situation quite disruptive of the traditional patterns (4).

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[4] There is an extensive literature on the effects of labor-force participation by married women and by mothers on marriage and family. Such participation does, indeed, call for a vast amount of redefinition of roles. See Lois Hoffman and Ivan Nye (1963). And this despite the fact that even when women enter the labor force, the type of mentality which accompanies the status-type world--ascribed, diffuse, particularistic, and affective--continues; women are still required to subordinate their success to that of their husband's. They must not become too independent. In the home they are supposed to continue their relationships on the basis of love and/or duty or obligation rather than on the basis of an exchange or "cash nexus." They are not supposed to pay for what they receive or to expect pay for what they do. Any suggestion

For many years, therefore, there was, in line with Parsons' analysis, only one role for women--the domestic--comprising a variety of functions including reproduction, child-care, and housekeeping.

Little by little, the cash-nexus world began to invade the status world of the family. As women entered the labor force of the cash-nexus world, with its monetary type of relationship, the old accommodation as described by Parsons, tended to become undermined. The first impact of the change was on the young unmarried woman; cash earnings freed daughters from complete dependence on the parental home. But even for them, work outside the house was at first viewed as a second-best choice. For most women, young or old, single or married, it was considered preferable for them to remain at home, snugly protected--though often exploited--in the status world of the family rather than enter the cash-nexus world of the labor market.

By the first decades of the twentieth century, however, the participation of young unmarried women in the labor force had become an accepted fact of life. Now it was the labor-force participation of married women that became the issue. Not until mid-century was there public, even official, recognition of not only the propriety but even the necessity of married women's "working". In 1949, a British Commission on Population recognized the need for the labor-force participation of even married women. Alva Myrdal and Viola Klein (1956) provided the social-science rationalization and underpinning of "women's two roles", the domestic and the worker. And when President Kennedy established his Commission on the Status of Women in 1961, he too gave support to the idea that women should be helped in performing their domestic role and encouraged to participate in the labor force.

At first only young married women were involved in the two-role pattern, with consequent modification of the husband-wife relationship implicit in Parsons' analysis. But, increasingly, it has reached mothers also. The predictable confusion resulting from the breakdown in the segregation of the status- and the cash-nexus worlds, has resulted.

Requisites for the Success of Role Segregation as an Accommodation

For segregation to succeed as accommodation to the conflicting status-type and cash-nexus type of relationships, described by Parsons, at least two conditions were called for, namely a process of socialization of women for the domestic role and of men for the work role and the presence of both a wife and a husband in every family to perform the respective functions of these several roles. Since our concern here is with women rather than with men, we limit our discussion here to them.

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that they be paid for their housekeeping or child-care services is anathema. Still, even here, inexorably, what was once a duty or obligation tends to become a favor and then--who knows?--a paid-for service.

Actually, women have, indeed, been socialized to accept the economic dependency implicit in the status world of the family. Girls are socialized into such economic dependency; they are reared to expect it unashamedly; they will marry, work for a year or two, and then receive and accept honorable support from their husbands. Even if they do work outside the home, they will still be entitled to the support of husbands. They develop an "ascriptive mentality", a mentality that accepts and takes for granted the perquisites of the status ascribed to, rather than "won" by, them as wife and mother.

Only recently have the foundations of this ascriptive mentality come under attack. Radical women are now working to break the dependency bred into women. They articulate the cash-nexus ideology as it invades the status world; women should be paid for whatever services they contribute to the home (5); they should not, however, be paid simply for occupying a status.

Traditionalists view with alarm this invasion of the status world by the ideology of the cash-nexus world. Conservative middle-class men still believe that a woman's place is--only--in the home; and the only proper work for women, the unpaid work of the household. Male hecklers watching a Woman's Liberation parade still shout, "Go home and have babies." Traditionalist wives share this status-based point of view. They proclaim loudly that they like being housewives, economic dependency and all. Theirs is par excellence an ascriptive mentality (6).

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[5] If a ship wants the services of seamen, it has to supply room and board, as does also the lumber camp, the engineering company in the wilds of the Andes, or, for that matter, the military. If a corporation employee takes a business trip, it is taken for granted that he gets a per diem payment, in addition to his pay for the services he has to hire. In all such cases, it is taken for granted that the cooking, cleaning and laundering required for maintaining ordinary workers in working conditions is a charge on employers. In European family wage systems, it is argued that in order for two workers, one married and the other not, to have the same wage, the married man must have additional pay to support his wife. It is not recognized that the married worker is getting services from his wife that the unmarried worker must purchase elsewhere. Their pay is not, therefore, equal. It is not the purpose here to propose ways of implementing the suggestion of payment to wives for their contribution in keeping the work force in good shape; but some kind of funding analogous to that of the social security system might not be out of the question. Although for the present it would outrage management if wives demanded that the services they supplied to its workers be paid for at home as they are when supplied by hotel maids, cooks, and waiters, the time may come when it will not sound outrageous. The time may come when it will not seem strange that wives should be paid for the household services they perform for industrial workers by keeping them well taken care of, and that equivalent hired services be paid for the case of unmarried workers. The services of housewives in taking care of workers will be viewed as part of the gross national product. The care of children is a more complex problem.

[6] See below for further discussion of ascriptive mentality.

The second requisite for the success of the segregation accommodation is some provision for the contingency when one or the other of the segregated roles is not being performed. In a society that differentiates family functions as we do, there is a serious potential conflict when one or another function, for whatever reason, is not being performed. In the case of women, for example, when there is no one to perform the provider function, several alternatives are possible. In the old status-type society, the family or kinship group itself absorbed her as the black inner-city family still often does. For many decades after the industrial revolution, gentlewomen who had no husbands lived as maiden aunts in the homes of their brothers or sisters or as companions to elderly ladies or as nurses or governesses in other women's homes. At the present time there is no such problem for unmarried women--or for childless women. They are free to enter the cash-nexus world and support themselves.

But if there are children, especially small children, there is a serious question. Which of the two required roles--domestic or provider--should these women be encouraged to perform? If they have to make a choice, which is preferable? If the answer is that a woman should assume the provider function, she has merely exchanged one function for another, the child-care for the provider. What substitutes should be supplied to perform the child-care functions in her place? If the answer is that she should retain the domestic functions, then a substitute must be found for the provider role.

At the beginning of this century the feeling was so strongly in favor of the domestic role for mothers that a new accommodation of the two worlds arose in the form of laws variously known as Mother's Aid, Mother's Allowance, Mother's Pension, or--since at that time the deprivation of the provider role came about primarily through death--Widow's Pension. It gained considerable momentum as a substitute for the provider function when there was no father to assume it. Beginning in Missouri and Illinois in 1911, it had spread to all but two states by 1935 (Clark, 1947, p. 61).

The rationale of this accommodation was that mothers were more useful performing the maternal role in the home, taking care of their children than they were in the labor force performing the provider function. It therefore paid society to let them stay home to perform their maternal functions. This movement foreshadowed the Aid to Dependent Children provision of the 1935 Social Security Act. All the implications of this new invasion into the family of the cash-nexus ideology have not been given adequate recognition.

The crux of the matter is, then, as the Parsons' analysis shows, that the accommodation he speaks of presupposes not only people socialized into the appropriate sex roles, but also circumstances propitious for their performance; where they are lacking, the adjustment he describes breaks down. Women are left with functions to perform but without the conditions required for their performance. If conditions are not propitious for the husband to perform the provider function or if there is no husband, some other source than the husband must be called upon to perform that function. In the sample of women here discussed, it is performed by the taxpayer through government welfare programs.

When we speak of the labor-force participation of women we are not, then, referring to a trivial, tangential, or merely incidental phenomenon but to a phenomenon with extremely profound, as well as extensive, ramifications in both worlds, with a phenomenon which implicates the total child-rearing process, with reverberations throughout the whole society. For we are, actually, in the throes of a change more momentous than almost any other in our day, a reassignment of the child-rearing function. The idea is being promulgated that it is not an exclusively maternal function, in fact, not even an exclusively female function, nor exclusively a family function. The change is producing some strange bedfellows, radical women and conservative traditionalists lining up together, the first in behalf of women and the second in behalf of the "taxpayer."

Strange Bedfellows

For the transitional world, there is a considerable amount of ideological confusion with resulting strange anomalies. Thus, traditionalist men and women hark back to the status-world emphasis. They resist labor-force participation by wives and especially by mothers, but only for middle-class women. Poor mothers should enter the cash-nexus world of work. They should earn their way, not depend on their ascribed status as mothers for support.

Radical women, on the other hand, believe that women can and should have options and that if participation in the labor force is chosen, it should be made as propitious as possible. They decry the ascriptive mentality that fosters dependency and places women in such an unfavorable position in the cash-nexus world.

Among poor mothers, participation in the labor force has not been a desideratum but a necessity. If there was no father, performing both the domestic and the provider roles has made all but impossible demands on them. In such cases, as we have seen, the state has taken over the provider function for them. Their position was little different from that of the middle-class mother except that welfare took the place of the husband in performing the provider function.

Labor Force Analysis

Introduction

Standard analyses in the social sciences usually take the form of measuring the relationships between or among several sets of variables designated as "dependent" and "independent", the first referring to the phenomena the analysis is designed to explain and the second to the phenomena it is hypothesized they depend on.

Although there is no explicit statement of causality in the relationship between two sets of variables, there is sometimes such an implication. In some cases the direction of the relationship is fairly obvious. It cannot be said, for example, that one's chronological age "depends " on one's employment status but it can be said that one's employment status "depends" on one's age. In other cases the direction is not so clear-cut. A person's employment status might "depend" on his fatalistic attitude toward life; he feels nothing he does can affect it and therefore does not even look for work. But it might also be that his attitude "depends" on his employment status; when or if he secures employment, his fatalism disappears.

The interpretation one puts on the relation between an independent and a dependent variable may make a difference in one's policy priorities. If one interprets the number of children as the independent variable and employment status as the dependent variable, the implication is that having many children prevents employment. But there have been some critics who argue, as we shall note later on, that the number of children is the dependent variable and employment status the independent one. Women, such an interpretation claims, have many children precisely in order to escape employment by way of welfare.

In the discussion here we begin with the assumption that labor-force participation and employment are the dependent variables and seek to delineate other kinds of variables --demographic and non-demographic-- on which they might logically be assumed to depend.

The Dependent Variables

The definition of work is very different in the status and in the cash-nexus world. In a status-organized world, though every family member works, no one is "employed"; even small children have duties and obligations quite unrelated to wages. There is thus no need for the concept of employment (7), or even of a labor force, but,in a contract world of money-mediated relationships, there is. The working force now includes as employed only "those persons ... who voluntarily offer their services for hire in the labor market (in exchange for which they receive wages or salaries) and who thereby participate (or attempt to participate) in the production of the gross national product." (Jaffe and Stewart, 1951, p. 33) Other workers are not considered employed or as part of the labor force.

The analysis of the male labor force as so defined in a cash-nexus society has a fairly long history, reaching back at least to the beginning of the nineteenth century (Ibid, Ch. 1). And a fairly elaborate conceptual apparatus has developed to describe, interpret, and explain its operation. Thus if a person voluntarily offers his services, but finds no job, he remains in the labor force but is viewed as unemployed. Unemployment itself has required a conceptual armory for differentiating the several forms it may take, such as seasonal, frictional, and technological. Labor-force analysts have, in addition, found it ncessary to include forms of employment and unemployment based on subjective or attitudinal factors also. Thus they have developed the term "inactively employed" to refer to those who are not working but who expect a job in the near future and the term "inactive unemployed" to refer to those who believe no work is available (Ibid, pp. 68-71).

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[7] It is not unlikely that there were occasional forms of employment as we know it today even in pre-industrial times. The Bible, for example, enjoins the employer to pay his worker at the end of his day's work. The nature and form of the transaction is now, however, explicitly described.

But the concepts developed for use in male labor-force analysis have different significance in the case of women; they are more blurred, harder to define.

Among women choice with respect to labor-force participation is involved to a much greater extent than among men. It is assumed, taken for granted, that a young man will enter the labor force, find a job, stay with it, and achieve independence. Little if any discretion is permitted; the major problems are those of preparing for employment and making the transition to full employment easily. Not so in the case of women. They do have options, however unrewarding each may be.

Often a woman does not know herself whether she is or is not in the labor force, or whether or not she is unemployed. Even if she is actually working on a job,there is difficulty of definition; she may be employed but not independent, as we shall note presently. If she is not employed, is she really interested in finding a job (even if she says she is)? One day she thinks she is, the next day she thinks she is not. The woman who would be glad to take a job becomes discouraged when obstacles are put in her way. If she is let out or fired, she may or may not wish to remain in the labor force as "inactively employed." Some women say they are unemployed or think of themselves as unemployed but when jobs are offered, they decide they do not want them after all. The category "inactive employed" would include women on maternity leave if they were assured of their jobs later on; but would it also include women who, as so many do, withdraw from the practice of their profession fully intending to resume it when their children are in school?

During a war or other emergency when the labor market is tight, women may be enticed into the labor market by high wages, by provision of child-care services, by glamorizing publicity. During a recession, they may be rejected from the labor market by changes in work rules, by reclassification of jobs, and--before the Civil Rights Act of 1964--by blatant discriminatory firing. A wide gamut of social and economic market forces, as well as individual motivations, may thus also be involved. For an indeterminate number of women, therefore, it is a matter of arbitrary definition whether or not they are in the labor force.

In addition to the concepts used in male labor-force analysis, a new conceptual category for which there is only incidental use in male labor-force analysis is essential in dealing with women, namely "dependent employment." The term is awkward and admittedly inadequate. It refers to the status of workers who are somehow or other subsidized from other sources than their own job. Youngsters who have part-time jobs or odd jobs, students who earn part of their way through college, elderly people who eke out pensions or social security payments with occasional jobs, fall into the category of "dependent employment," as do also young workers, male or female, who still live at home. The concept of under-employment or part-time employment would be an approximation for the analysis of the mature male labor force. But it is too important, even indispensable, in the case of women to relegate it to a marginal position. It comprises wives who work to help support their families (8) or who work only to pay for the second car or the color television set (9).

The widespread prevalence of dependent employment among women was long used as an excuse for paying them less wages than men; they did not "have" to work. They could claim honorable support from their husbands. Among some women, to be sure, the earned income is greater than the "income" they receive in the form of support. But it need not be. Among employed women on welfare, for whom the state takes over the provider role of the husband as the major source of support, only a small part of total income tends to be earned.

If then, even in the case of men labor force participation and employment status are difficult to deal with, they are especially so in the case of women. In the present discussion, in addition to the usual category of "employed," three categories were applied to the dependent variables namely (1) not in the labor force; (2) "non-employed," including both those who were unemployed in the ordinary sense and also those who were "inactively employed" in the sense that they were in the WIN training program or waiting for such training, and (3) the dependently employed, that is, women who were receiving assistance to supplement their earnings (10).

The Independent Variables: Demographic

Some of the independent variables used in any analysis are standard; some are developed specifically for a given analysis. They are limited only by the creativity, imagination -- or courage -- of the analyst. If they are too far out of bounds, the analysis will demonstrate this fact. In the case of labor-force analysis, a set of standardized demographic variables has

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[8] In 1960, 22.7 percent of the wives of employed men in families with less than $2,000 income were contributing at least half of that income; among non-whites, 19.3 percent were. At the other end of the income scale, wives of employed men in families with $15,000 or more income were contributing 42.5 percent, and non-white wives, 45.1 percent. This can be interpreted to mean that the larger the proportion the wife could contribute to the family income, the larger the income could be, or that women in low-earning families had low skills and therefore could not contribute as much. Based on Table 14, U. S. Census, 1960, Employment Status and Work Experience, pp. 170-171.

[9] It is interesting to note that wives often view their earnings as supplemental and the husband's earnings as basic, for necessities. Similarly, as Dr. Klausner shows in his analysis of the budgets of the women in our sample, they also view their earnings as supplemental income, justifiably spent on the less essential consumer goods, whereas their welfare income is for necessities.

[10] This corresponds to variable II-69. "Not in the labor force" refers to "not interested" (responses 7, 8, 9), non-employed refers to the unemployed (response 6), and dependently employed to employed and employed not working (responses 1-5).

become customary, namely, race (I-59), age (I-60), schooling (II-72), and marital status (I-62) (11). Like the dependent variables (12), they operate quite differently in the male and in the female labor force. Our concern here is only with the latter.

The pattern for blacks in general has been different from that for whites and for black women, quite different from that for white women. In 1968, almost half--49 percent--of all non-white (Women's Bureau, 1969, p.20) women sixteen years of age and over were in the labor force as compared to 41 percent of white women; and, as compared to 4 percent of white women who were unemployed, about 7 percent of non-white women were (13).

The variable "years of schooling" has been found to play an important part in determining the labor-force participation of both men and women. Thirty-one percent of women with eight years of schooling but 48 percent of those with a high school education were in the labor force (Ibid, p. 205). The influence of education in the case of women has been different at high and at low levels of schooling. In the lower educational levels, participation in the labor force has never been viewed as a right or privilege, as it was in the higher educational levels. Quite the opposite, labor-force participation was less likely to be optional, more likely to be required. It was the right to withdraw from the labor force, not the right to participate in it, that was prized. To marry a "good provider" so that they did not have to "work" was viewed by these women as desirable (14). But for women at the other end of the educational scale who often had to fight against the traditional conception of women's role, both at home on the part of husbands and in the labor force on the part of employers, it was the right to take jobs rather than the right not to that was sought. At the highest level the discussion was in terms of careers. But even at the level of run-of-mine white-collar jobs, labor-force participation was viewed by these women as desirable. The composition of the female labor force reflects this difference. A far larger proportion of educated than of less-educated women in the United States are in the labor force. "The more education a woman has received,

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[11] In addition to these variables, the U. S. Census volume on employment status includes: type of residence, geographic region, parentage, household relationship, nativity, rural-urban, and, for women, family structure, including number of children.

[12] Age and race are unequivocably the independent variable in relation to labor-force participation and employment status. But both schooling and marital status are equivocal. One could argue that in some cases women continue in school in order to improve their job situation. And, at least allegedly, they may be deserted by husbands in order to become eligible for welfare. In the present study both of these interpretations are eschewed.

[13] Only in the teenage bracket do more white than non-white women participate in the labor force. In the 25-34 age bracket, the difference is most striking; 57 percent of non-white but only 41 percent of white women were in the labor force in 1968 (Ibid., pp. 20-21). The proportion of the white work force who were women was only 36.3 percent, of the non-white, 43.2 percent (Ibid., p. 22).

[14] Alva Myrdal and Viola Klein have sketched the impact on our thinking of this essentially leisure-class ideology. (Op.cit.,pp. 5, 6, 27)

the greater the likelihood that she will be engaged in paid employment" (Women's Bureau, 1969, p. 204) (15).

The effect of age on female labor-force participation has been inextricably related to marital status and to family structure. During the years of intensive child care (25-34), the rate of labor-force participation declines (42.8 percent); it increases when the children enter school, reaching 52.6 percent for those aged 45-54 (Ibid., pp. 17-18).

Marital status is a secondary variable in analyzing the male labor force; it is fundamental in understanding the female labor force, though its effect is of declining importance. Although in the earliest years of the industrial revolution in England there were some men "straw bosses" who contracted out their wives and children to work in mills, factories, and even mines, the major component of the female labor force for many decades was the unmarried young woman. One of the most dramatic changes in recent decades has had to do with the two variables of age and marital status as related to female labor-force participation. "Prior to World War I the typical woman worker was young and unmarried. Traditional social patterns discouraged the employment of married women unless dire economic necessity required them to support the family. Today, the typical woman worker is 40 years old and married " (Ibid., p. 16). Labor force participation tends to be high (16) among women whose husbands are absent (54.0 percent) and among those who are divorced (71.6 percent) (Ibid., p. 27).

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[15] Almost half (48.1 percent) of all women with high school education were in the labor force in 1968; over half (54.4 percent) of those with four years of college, and almost three-fourths (70.8 percent) of those with graduate study (p. 205). Education is clearly only one component of a constellation of variables determining labor force participation. Low levels of education are associated with early marriage, higher fertility (in the past at least), lower earning potential, so that there are many intervening variables between level of education and labor force participation. In general the direction of the relationship may be said to be in the direction of higher levels of education as the independent and labor force participation as the dependent variable.

[16] A considerable proportion of the women heads of families not in the labor force were doubtless widowed women living on husbands' pensions, divorced women with alimony or child-care grants, mothers with social security payments, and the like. Some, finally, were on welfare rolls. There is a considerable amount of discussion in the literature on the dereliction of obligations on the part of the men in the lives of welfare mothers. The feeling of "the taxpayer" is that these men rather than he should be performing the provider role. Actually, unless the men are paid better wages, their presence does not have much effect on labor-force participation by their wives. Among families in which the man's earnings were in the poverty brackets in 1967--under $1,000--about a third of the wives with preschoolers were in the labor force (Women's Bureau, op. cit., p. 45); in the present sample, 40.4 percent were. Having a husband who was a low earner did not greatly reduce the need for labor-force participation. Or for welfare supplementation, if labor-force participation were not feasible.

Just as marital status ceased to be a major public issue in labor-force participation by married women, motherhood came to take its place. Even for those who accepted the employment of mothers, there was still strong feeling that mothers of preschoolers should not be in the labor force. A considerable research literature does, in fact, undergird the fact that motherhood is one of the most determinative factors in the work histories of women today. Of mothers of one child, 49.1 percent were in the labor force in 1960 as compared with 36.7 percent of mothers of four or more children (U. S. Census, 1960, p. 59). Garfinkle (1968, p. 5), for example, reports that one child takes about ten years from the work life of a woman and each additional child from two to three years. Eli Ginzberg and Associates (1966, p. 106-107) also found that children drastically affected the work histories of talented women. In fact, on the basis of the well-established inverse relationship between labor-force participation and number of children, encouragement of women to enter the labor force has been proposed as an antinatalist policy (Bernard, 1971) on the assumption that labor-force participation was the independent variable (Miner, 1968, in Sills, David--International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 8, p. 479) (17).

As a result of the operation of these demographic variables, the characteristic labor-force participation pattern for women has become one in which a young woman continues to work after marriage until her first child is born, then withdraws until her last child is in school and then resumes paid employment. Indeed, the "re-tooling" of women to prepare them for re-entering the labor force has become a major aspect of adult education. The WIN program may also be viewed as one aspect of this "re-tooling" movement.

In brief, in the United States, non-white women are more likely than white women to be in the labor force; the more education a woman has the more likely she is to be in the labor-force; the fewer children she has, the more likely she is to be in the labor-force, and the older her children are, the more likely she is to be in the labor force.

Women in the Present Sample Compared With All Women in the United States

Data on these demographic variables are also available for the present sample of Camden welfare mothers (18). Table VII-1 compares the proportion of all American women and the Camden welfare mothers in the labor force under each condition.

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[17] Actually, there is evidence that women in the labor force were closing the gap between themselves and women not in the labor force so far as childbearing was concerned between 1960 and 1968. See Jessie Bernard, 1971b, p.23.

[18] A set of demographic variables were used in the study. Race refers to variable I-59, age, I-60, marital status, I-62, presence of preschoolers, I-63, number of children, I-65, education, II-72.

TABLE VII-1

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION OF ALL WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE PRESENT SAMPLE BY SELECTED VARIABLES (in percents)

VARIABLES	PERCENT IN THE LABOR FORCE	
	All Women in the U.S.	Present Sample
Race		
White	41[a]	
Non-white	49	
White		37
Black		48
Age		
18-19	48[b]	
20-24	53	
25-34	43	
35-44	49	
45-54	53	
15-21		45
22-26		45
27-34		51
35 and older		38
Education		
Eighth grade	31[c]	
High School	48	
Less than High School		38
High School and over		45
Number of Children		
Four or more	34[d]	
One	51	
Five or more		32
One		58
Family Structure		
White mothers of preschool children	25[e]	
Non-white mothers of preschool children	42	
All mothers of preschool children	29	
Mothers of preschool children		41
Mothers with no preschool children		53

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[a] Figures from U. S. Dept. of Labor, Women's Bureau, 1969, p. 20
[b] Figures from U. S. Dept.of Labor, Women's Bureau, 1969, p. 18
[c] Figures from U. S. Dept. of Labor, Women's Bureau, 1969, p. 205
[d] Figures from U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Census Bureau, 1960, p. 59
[e] Figures from U. S. Dept. of Labor, Women's Bureau, 1969, pp. 39, 43

The most important conclusion from Table VII-1 is that the same forces playing upon all women in the United States operate also on the women in our sample and in the same way. Thus, for example, setting aside the question of statistical significance, labor-force participation in the present sample as among all women, is greater: among the non-white (47.6 percent) than among the white (36.6 percent) women; among the more educated than among the less (45.4 and 41.9 percent respectively); among those with one child than among those with five or more children (58.4 and 32.4 percent respectively); and among women with no preschoolers than among mothers of preschoolers (53.0 and 40.5 percent respectively).

The difference between welfare mothers and other women is that the factors that tend to inhibit labor force participation by women--low education, large families, preschoolers, and husband absent--are more likely to be present among them than among other women.

When we say that the impact of the demographic variables on labor-force participation in our sample resembles that among all women, all we are saying is that they all respond in essentially the same way to the same structural exigencies of our society. Their behavior reflects the general cultural and institutional background--including sexual differentiation of functions--to which they, like all women, have to conform. Like all women, the women in our sample were not likely to participate in the labor force when they had small children because in our society the care of small children is a function of women; like all women, they were more likely to participate in the labor force the more schooling they had because the kinds of work poorly schooled women can do is not paid well enough to be worth the effort; like all women they were more likely to participate in the labor force in the years after their children were in school because they were then relieved of some of the responsibilities of their care, and so on.

Since then, although the specific details may differ in our sample of women, as compared with all women, the general impact of the several demographic variables on labor-force participation is similar, there seem to be relatively little left to "explain." There are some who do, in fact, argue that these demographic variables are enough to interpret female labor-force participation (19). But there are others who are not completely satisfied with exclusively demographic interpretations. They wish to explore intervening variables in greater depth. And there is strong research support for the conclusion that labor-force participation attracts women who differ from those who remain home and that participation itself exaggerates the differences. Quite different mentalities and value orientations are involved in the cash-nexus world of work and the status world of the home. And an extensive research literature on high school and college women documents differences between women whom Alice Rossi has labelled "housewives" and those she calls "pioneers". Sometimes these women are given the rubrics "domestic women" and "career women". Whatever the form of the characterization, the women show clear-cut differences (20).

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[19] See Chapter V below.

[20] See Jessie Bernard (1971), Women and the Public Interest: An Essay on Policy and Protest (Aldine-Atherton, 1971), pp. 7-31, for a summer of this literature.

There is no reason to reject the idea that similar or analogous differences exist among the women in our sample. We shall introduce some new non-demographic variables below to test this idea. But first a statement of the model for analysis to be applied here.

The Model: Stairs, Sieves, and Steps

The model for discussing the data here is conceptualized in terms of a sequence of steps from one stair to another, influenced by a set of sieves. The dependent variables--labor-force participation and employment status--constitute the stairs and the independent variables--demographic and non-demographic--the sieves. The movement between any two stairs is viewed as a step.

The Stairs: Dependent Variables

We have already introduced the dependent variables in this study which are the basic concern of the discussion. They consist of the set of employment statuses (21) referred to in connection with labor-force analysis above. The four stairs in the present study are: (1) non-participation; (2) non-employment; (3) dependent or subsidized employment, and (4) independent employment (22).

For the most part, the women in our sample who were on the first stair non-participation (56 percent of the welfare women), were not interested in employment because they had child-care responsibilities, were in poor health or, in some cases, were pregnant. The non-employment stair included not only the 29 percent of the welfare women who were unemployed in the ordinary sense of the term but also a small number of other women who were waiting for WIN job training and hence were in the category of "inactively employed" referred to above. The 15 percent of the welfare mothers who were working were not earning enough to support themselves and their children and were therefore

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[21] It should be clear that the term "status" used with reference to employment is not the same as status as used by Sir Henry Maine or Talcott Parsons referred to above. It is in part to minimize the potential confusion that employment status is here conceptualized in terms of "stairs."

[22] The stair number 4, independent employment, refers to all cases in the working mother's control sample of non-welfare mothers. (This sample is described in the Appendix.) The composition of stairs refers to variable II-69. Non-participation refers to "not interested" (responses 7-9), non-employment refers to "unemployed" (response 6) and dependent and subsidized employment refers to employed and employed not working (responses 1-5). The first three stairs are employment statuses within the AFDC population only. The fourth stair refers to the working sample only.

receiving supplementary income (23). The women who were on the independent employment stair were the so-called working poor, women who earned enough to support themselves and any dependents they might have. These women were not on AFDC; they constituted our sample of the "working poor".

The Sieves: Independent Variables

The sieves have to do with the qualifications and circumstances that influence the movement of workers from one stair or status to another, from non-participation, for example, to participation in the labor force or from dependent employment to independent employment. For both men and women, moving from one stair or status to another may be conceptualized as passing through several such sieves. Some are coarse, passing almost everyone; some are fine, passing only a few. Some, in fact, are so fine that they constitute genuine barriers; it is impossible for many to get through them at all. Gross abnormalities, for example, screen out some individuals from the labor force, as may poor health. Thus, one might expect those on the stair of non-participation to include a disproportionate number with handicapping characteristics. But not even everyone who passes through the first barrier into the labor force can also pass through the second into employment. For some reason or other there are individuals who enter the labor force but do not achieve a job; they remain in the labor market as unemployed. As a result of the operation of these sieves, the composition of those on the several stairs differs in ways to be presently described.

The impact of these sieves in not conceived as necessarily fixed for individuals. Workers may improve their training, acquire new skills or upgrade old ones; or, conversely, become ill or disabled or lose their skills. In the case of women, the demands of other obligations may become attenuated, children grow up, achievement drives increase or decrease. Thus, the individuals who accumulate on one stair at one time might well be on another at a later time. The WIN program rests on this conviction. It attempts to eliminate or reduce the handicaps that sieve women out of the labor force or out of employment.

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[23] Total elimination of the dependent employment status may not be a feasible goal of policy, even with a successful WIN program unless the wages of the women become considerably higher than at present. A fourth (24 percent) of black women heads of families who worked full time all year in 1969 still earned less than the "low-income" or poverty level (Bureau of the Census, The Social and Economic Status of Negroes in the United States 1970, Bureau of Labor Statistics Report No. 394, Series P-23, No. 38, p. 126). See also Irene Cox, "The Employment of Mothers as a Means of Family Support", Welfare in Review, 9 (Nov.-Dec., 1970), pp. 9-17. Reduction to about 10 percent may be a feasible goal. Thus after three years of the WIN program in Washington, D. C., 1,100 of the 2,500 persons, 80 percent of whom were women, had completed the program and 1,000 had been removed from welfare rolls (Washington Post, July 25, 1971). The other hundred persons--that is, about 9 percent--had presumably remained as dependently employed.

We have already discussed the demographic variables or sieves. We noted there that although some analysts were satisfied with the demographic variables, others sought additional insights to help interpret female labor-force participation. We noted also that a large research literature has examined the psychological differences between women who "work" or have careers---participants in the labor force--and those who do not--non-participants. Important as that work is, however, it is of only tangential relevance in the present context. Additional variables were called for here. In order to help interpret the differences in the populations on the several stairs in our population, a series of new variables have therefore been introduced. For the sake of simplicity, they are clustered into several categories which, on the basis of research on marriage, the family, labor-force participation by women, and general sociological theory, were viewed as relevant for the present discussion. The several clusters had to do with the domestic role of women, the worker role of women, the status world, the cash nexus world, and depressant variables.

The Domestic-Role Clusters. These clusters of thirteen items deal with a role all girls are expected to perform, certainly if they marry and become mothers. One sub-cluster includes seven maternal and another six housekeeping items (24). Since child-rearing is taken for granted as a female function, its relevance for labor-force participation is unequivocal. Only in recent years, and then only by the most avant garde women, has the "naturalness" of this allocation of functions to women been questioned. Only within the last four or five years has there been any challenge to the socialization process which prepares women for this domestic role.

The two hard items in the child-care component of the maternal cluster refer to the availability of help in performing this function, an absolute necessity in the case of mothers of pre-schoolers. The five soft items refer to conceptions of the maternal role. A woman who ranked high on the maternal-role items: considers the ideal number of children to be three or more (25); believes a mother should be encouraged to stay home; prefers to take care of her own children; thinks her children want her to be home; and does not feel helpless in a mother-child situation. The two hard items refer to availability of child-care services.

"Occupational housewife" is the taken-for-granted vocational fate of women since homemaking, like child rearing, is assumed to be women's work. Even when women enter the labor force, they are still held responsible for the management of the household. The housekeeping items of the domestic-role cluster included five items on the availability of help, especially from children, and two on attitudes toward housekeeping and ability to handle it.

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[24] The domestic role cluster variables are as follows: (1) Maternal Role Variables--Helplessness Mother-Child Situation, I-48; Ideal Number of Children, IV-28; Preference Child Care, IV-51; Importance Mother in Home, IV-42; Importance of Maternal Role, IV-56; Help with Child Care Needed, IV-07; and Availability of Help with Child Care, IV-07; (2) Housekeeping Variables--Trouble with Housework, IV-46; Dislike Housework, IV-45; Children Help Housework, IV-49; Housework Done by Others, IV-48.

[25] Women in our sample who placed a high value on the maternal role were also more likely to have five or more children.

The Worker-Role Clusters. Since our concern is with labor-force participation, the relevance of this variable requires little justification. Five items, two hard and three soft, constituted this cluster (26). The two hard items referred to past participation in job-training programs and earnings on past jobs. The soft items included an evaluation of the job training but especially a work-ethic component of five items. The woman who ranked high on the work-ethic variables as here defined: preferred a full-time job to remaining at home; felt ashamed when unemployed (or fed up when not working); would be willing to take a job in any field even if she had to take training for it in a field new to her; would work, at least part time, even if she did not need the money; places high value on work. In view of the enormous literature on the Protestant ethic which encompasses the concept of work as a calling and hence assigns great value to it, the relevance of this set of items as a factor in the decision to enter the labor force was assumed to be great. One item related to self confidence--no feeling of helplessness in a job situation--and in addition, two items related to success-orientation and monetary work incentives are also included.

The Status-World Clusters. Much less well understood as a factor in labor-force participation than either the domestic or the worker-role clusters, is the mentality developed in the status world as described earlier. There is no body of research to serve as a benchmark in the use of this variable, but, on the basis of the analysis presented above, its relevance was assumed to be considerable, at least worth examining. It was assumed, therefore, that an "ascriptive mentality," conformable to the demands of a status world would be an important variable in determining labor-force participation. As a corollary to such an assumed "ascriptive mentality," a variable labelled "ascriptive culture" was also derived.

Six items measured ascriptive mentality (27). A woman who scored high on the six ascriptive mentality items believed: that welfare assistance should be leniently available even if there are plenty of jobs; that welfare abuses should be very leniently dealt with. She does not believe being on welfare has a negative effect on children. She does not think her children have ever been teased or discriminated against because their family is on welfare; nor does she think the people she knows look down on welfare mothers. She has never felt embarrassed in front of family or friends because she was on welfare.

It will be noted that this variable has to do with the whole subject of "the psychology of women" and especially with the nature of their dependencies. Briefly encapsulated, the rationale back of this variable in the present context is this: since dependency is "programmed" into all women, as legitimately a part of their segregated role, they take it for granted that some one will always take care of them. Even when they prepare for work, it is often only half-hearted, to be prepared to take care of

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[26] Worker Role Cluster Variables are: Value of Job Training, IV-41; Job Training Experience, III-13; Previous Earnings, III-72, Prefer Job to Staying Home, III-29; Motive to Work; III-10; Motive to Avoid Work, III-22.

[27] These variables were Friends on Welfare, IV-19; Friends Work, IV-18; Relatives on Welfare, IV-21; Time Respondent on Welfare, IV-22; Time Respondent's Mother on Welfare, IV-27; Reared by Other than Parents, IV-26.

themselves "just in case". So powerful does the force of this mentality still remain that even after divorce women are felt to be entitled to the support of former husbands.

This dependency mentality is the same in the case of women in the suburbs and in the central city. What is different is only the source of support: husbands in one case, the taxpayer by way of the public welfare worker in the other. The "psychology" or "mentality" is the same in both cases. In fact, if we substitute the traditional source of support of married women, "husband", for the source of support of welfare mothers, the woman with an ascriptive mentality as here conceived could be described as follows: she believes husbands should be generous with their wives; women who practice little deceits in order to wheedle more money from their husbands should be leniently dealt with; she does not think people look down on her for accepting support from her husband; she never feels embarrassed by her dependence on her husband (28).

It is interesting to note parenthetically in passing that the provider of support tends to show the same kind of reaction whether husband or taxpayer. Where has all the money gone? What did you spend it for? I can't afford it. A large part of the dissensus in conventional marriages has to do with the allocation of income. A considerable part of the welfare mother's life has to do with satisfying the requirements of taxpayer as represented, however reluctantly, by the public welfare worker, even when she serves as a shield to her client.

The ascriptive culture is not identical with the so-called culture of poverty but rather with the culture of a status-type world, in which dependency is taken for granted. The cluster of six items dealing with it does not deal with attitudes but with hard data, with the world in which the women were originally socialized and the world in which they now live. They seek to find out what the women's reference groups were like. The woman who lives in an ascriptive culture was supported in her childhood by someone other than a parent; her mother was sometimes on welfare during her childhood; she has been on welfare a good deal of the time during the last four years; most of her friends and relatives are on welfare; few of her friends work full time.

The mechanisms by which these relationships are assumed to operate are analogous to those reported by James Coleman (1966) who, in a study of the factors related to achievement of school children, found that the students in the school with whom the children associated constituted a powerful factor in determining the achievement of any specific children. Of two children with the same family backgrounds, the one who attended a school in which achievement was high would achieve more than the one who attended a school in which achievement was low. In a similar vein it may be argued that women who live in a status-type world or ascriptive culture are similarly influenced in their decisions about labor-force participation.

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[28] We are speaking here only of the provider role of husband and of taxpayer. Husbands perform a supportive role also, as do the men in the lives of welfare recipients as well.

The Cash-Nexus World Cluster. The fourth new variable introduced here is the psychological or attitudinal counterpart of the cash-nexus world of the ascriptive mentality for the status world. The type of mentality suitable for a money-mediated world is assumed to be one in which monetary incentives play a large part. In contrast to the status world of the family in which members are entitled to be taken care of whether or not they "deserve" to be, in which there can be no question of paying for such care, is the cash-nexus of the work world in which people relate to one another on the basis of money instead of love, duty, or obligation. Because of the importance attached to the cash-nexus in the contract-based world, a cluster of items dealing with the value of money in human relations was included. This cluster was measured by five items (29). A woman who scored high on this variable believes: that the more money a mother makes the more her children will respect her; that the more money she makes the more her children's friends will respect her children; that the more money a family has the better its members will get along with one another; and that money is important in social relations. She also shows high money incentive to work.

The Depressant Cluster. A fifth residual cluster of four items had to do with attitudes that might be expected to inhibit labor-force participation (30). It included two items based on projective tests--helplessness in a work-situation and helplessness in a mother-child situation (31); retreatism as interpreted in Chapter X; and high fatalism. The woman who was high on fatalism believed: that her success in life was all in the cards and hence she might as well accept what happened and that since plans hardly ever worked out, it wasn't worthwhile to plan ahead.

These five clusters of items were hypothesized to bear some relationship to the goals of the WIN program, namely to motivate and train women to participate in the labor force and secure employment. They are not, to be sure, all equally amenable to policy intervention. It may be possible to provide help with child care and housekeeping, but can much be done about feelings toward the maternal role or the willingness of children to help the mother? It is not possible to undo a woman's childhood, but is it even possible to detach her from an ascriptive culture? Job training may be provided; but how does one inculcate a work ethic? In a world in which most women still have an ascriptive mentality, how can one change it in only one segment of the population? How can we overcome feelings of helplessness? Retreatism? High fatalism? Whether or not these variables are susceptible to control within the wider context of the overall changes taking place in our world today, it is worth examining them if for no other reason than to recognize the limitations policy operates in.

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[29] Variable III-46 and III-53.

[30] These items were Fatalism, III-41; Helplessness in Mother-Child Situation, I-48; Helplessness in Work Situation, I-40; and Index Measuring Retreatism or Withdrawal from Community Ties.

[31] The relevance of this helplessness variable may be seen from the finding reported by Floyd Martinson: "employed mothers tended toward higher self-esteem as individuals than did the non-employed, but in situations in which there was conflict between the roles of employee and homemaker, they often felt inadequate" (Floyd Mansfield Martinson, Family in Society /Dodd, Mead, 1970/, p. 180).

So much, then, for the nature of the dependent variables -- labor-force participation and employment -- and the independent variables, demographic and non-demographic. The next question is this: is the relationship between them the same at each stair? Do the sieves operate the same way in selecting women into the labor force as they do in selecting them for employment? This question introduces the concept of steps.

The Steps.

The steps imply a dynamic element. They refer to the movement from one stair to another. Are some steps steeper than others? Harder to negotiate? Are the same forces at work in all of them? In entering the labor force, for example, and in actually getting and holding a job? In securing dependent employment and in achieving independent employment? Some such conceptualization is essential in analyzing the nature of labor-force participation of both men and women but especially of women.

Two industrial sociologists (Miller and Form, 1951) have described the chronological steps in the working life of men in terms of the socializing processes involved in each step, finding that "the social adjustments made by the worker begin with birth and end only with death". They distinguish six work-socialization periods analogous to our "stairs;" (1) preparatory years during which the home and school provide early work experience; (2) the initial work period, when the youngster steps into paid jobs; (3) a transitional period during which he makes the big step between school and the adult work world; (4) a period of trial in which the young man tries himself out in several work situations; (5) a period of stable employment when he finds himself; and, finally, (6) withdrawal from active work life, when the older man steps out of the labor force. The steps are not of equal steepness nor do the same sieves necessarily operate in the same way in all. Some are more cricical than others. Some workers may never make the grade into the fifth period. Some may be forced into the sixth earlier than others. And so on.

The work histories of women have an altogether different pattern which does not at all conform to the above sequence of steps. Girls are only secondarily socialized into the worker role. Donald E. Super (1957, Chapters 6-11), a psychologist, admittedly without empirical data, has distinguished the chronological course of women's working life in terms of the psychological and identity problems involved in taking the several steps as follows: (1) adolescent exploration, (2) reality testing, (3) floundering or trial process, (4) establishment, (5) maintenance, and (6) decline. Actually, the domestic and the worker roles of women are so closely related that the adult stage can take many forms. The adult stage is characterized by several patterns involving different combinations of labor-force participation and non-participation. Super delineated seven such possible patterns: (1) the stable homemaking pattern, (2) the conventional, (3) the stable work patterns, (4) the double-track, (5) the interrupted, (6) the unstable, and (7) the multiple-trial. (*Ibid*., pp. 76-78).

Another approach to the conceptualization of the work lives of women (Cooper, 1964, pp. 6ff., 21-28) arrives at seven patterns of labor-force participation simply in terms of the relative emphasis on the steps into and out of the labor force: (1) lifetime continuous employment, (2) a double-track pattern combining employment and homemaking throughout adult life; (3) an interrupted pattern in which the woman steps out of the labor force and takes time off to rear children and then steps back into uninterrupted employment; (4) a truncated pattern in which women work until marriage or the birth of a first child and then step out of gainful employment forever; (5) intermittent re-entry and exit from the labor force; (6) a multiple-trial pattern in which the need or desire to work remains but the kind of work varies; and (7) a pattern in which a girl steps directly into homemaking with no interval of gainful employment at all.

Since the data on which the present discussion rests catch the subjects during only one year of their lives, we cannot trace, backward or forward, the steps up or down of the individual women. The above schema, involving a lifetime series of steps into and out of the labor force are not applicable. A somewhat different model is therefore used. It reduces the complexity by positing three steps. The first step is entrance into the labor force, the second is between non-employment as here defined, and dependent employment; and the third is between dependent employment and independent employment.

A "normal" sequence of steps for women would start with the first one from non-participation to participation when the girl decides she would like to work. After a longer, or, hopefully, shorter period of non-employment, she takes the second step. Since she is still living at home, her first job is likely to put her in the category of dependent employment. If she pays for her room and board or if she moves into her own apartment, she takes the third step, into independence. If she marries, however, she may step back to non-participation or to dependent employment.

Of course, real life does not conform precisely to the model. The sequence of steps is not always in one direction; the process may operate in all directions, up, down, forward, backward. One may lose a job and regress from the stair of independent employment to one of dependent employment, as a young woman may do at marriage, or of non-employment, as a woman may do if fired or if her job is abolished; or her pay may be cut to such an extent that she is no longer wholly independent despite continued employment. She may weave in and out of the labor force, as indeed women do in some of the work histories listed above by Super and by Cooper. After retirement she may move into non-employment or to dependent employment. Thus the women who are located on any one of the stairs at a given moment of time may be located on another stair at some other time. No position is viewed as necessarily permanent for those occupying it. They may step up- or downstairs, forward or backward.

In the case of men the ideal is for step-by-step progress toward the stair of stable employment. In the case of women, however, there is usually a recycling. The first cycle of: non- labor-force participation, labor-force participation, non-employment, dependent employment, and independent employment usually ends either at marriage or at the birth of a first child. But increasingly there is a second cycle when the last child enters school. It may differ from the first in that the period of dependent employment may be permanent. The woman is not dependent solely on her earnings; she still lives with her husband and could drop out of the labor force if she wished to. For others, however, such as the divorced, widowed, or separated, independent employment may still be the final stage.

We do not have longitudinal work histories for enough men and women to show precisely how the model would work, but on the basis of cross-sectional data, Figure VII-1 shows the differences in the model as applied to men and to women, that is, the number of men and women over 14 who were not in the labor force in 1960 and the number who were in the labor force, including the number who were unemployed. Since there is no way to arrive at an accurate figure for the number of employed men who were being subsidized by others (32)--including parents, relatives, grants, donors, wives (33), or others--all those listed as employed by the census are included among the independently employed and the category of dependently employed is omitted. In the female labor force, a profile for the dependent employment stair is approximate. It refers to working wives living with their husbands; it does not include unmarried women living at home or in other subsidized situations.

So much then for the model. From this conceptual and theoretical background, we turn to its application in the present context. In the following section, the sets of women on the several stairs are compared with one another with respect to both the demographic and the non-demographic variables; next, the women with specified demographic and non-demographic characteristics and in specified circumstances are compared with one another with respect to the stairs they are on; in the succeeding section, the relative impact of the several non-demographic variables at the first step--into the labor force--is compared with their relative impact at the second--into employment.

The Stairs in the Present Sample

Three Questions

The questions asked here with respect to the women on the several stairs are of this nature: (1) are there differences among them on the items here discussed or do they all belong to a homogeneous population, that is, have the same composition, showing only random differences? (2) If there are differences, can their statistical significance be assessed? (3) If so, what is the meaning of the differences?

A parenthetic word about differences. A difference was said to be random if there was no regular increase or decrease among the stairs, if, that is, an increase was followed by a decrease or vice versa, in no patterned order. A difference was said to be categorical in nature if it differentiated any stair or set of two or three stairs from any other; if, for example, there was a gradient between three contiguous stairs but the fourth was out of line, the difference was said to be categorical; or if a difference clearly differentiated between the first two and the next two stairs. A difference was said to fall along a continuum if there was a regular increase or decrease between each continguous stair.

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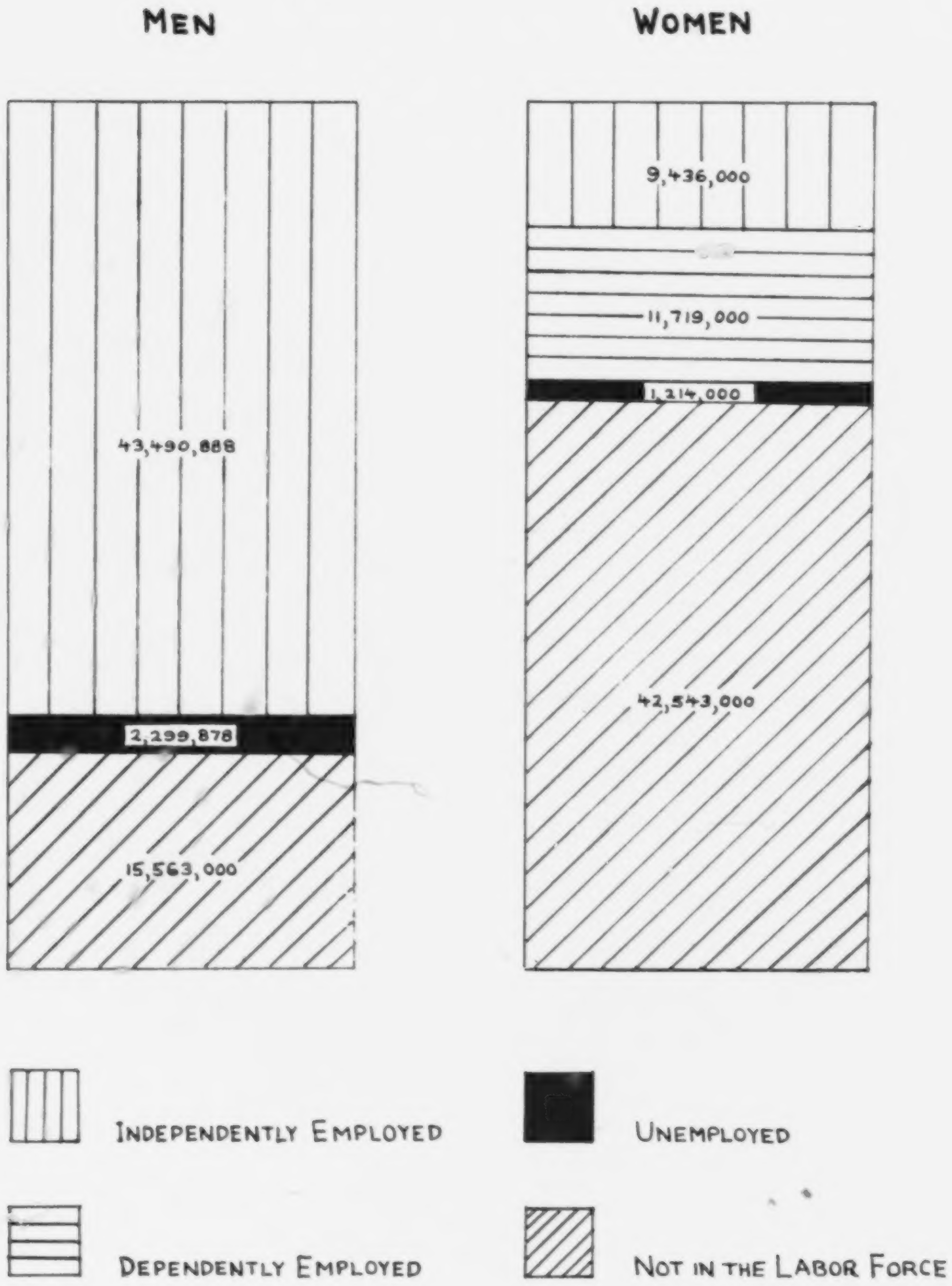
[32] See Chapter VIII below for studies dealing with the composition of family income.

[33] In 1960, 88.6 percent of the husbands in husband--wife households were in the labor force; 30.7 percent of the wives in such households were (U. S. Census, 1960, Employment Status, Table 4). Overall, wives were contributing at least half of family income in about a tenth of the families, the proportion ranging from 22.7 percent of the families with less than $2,000 income to 42.5 percent of those with $15,000 or more (Women's Bureau, op cit., Table 14).

FIGURE VII-1

PERCENT OF MEN AND WOMEN
FOURTEEN YEARS AND OVER
IN LABOR FORCE STATUSES



(1) The answer to the first question raised above is affirmative. There are differences among the sets of women on the several stairs with respect to at least some of the items here discussed. See Tables VII-2 and VII-8, and Figures 2 - 9 in Appendix to this Chapter for graphic presentation of the same data. The demographical variables (Table VII-2) show the expected pattern of differences. With the exception of a few out-of-line proportions, the sets of women on all the stairs are preponderantly black; those on Stair 4 are older, have more years of schooling, fewer children (34), and fewer preschoolers. The set on Stair 3 is also older and better schooled and includes fewer preschoolers than Stairs 1 and 2.

Differences with respect to the non-demographic variables are more difficult to interpret. In Figures 2 through 6 a line has been drawn between the first and the fourth stairs to guide the eye in the general direction of the differences. If there were no differences, the line would be vertical; if there are, the slant will be positive or negative, the greater the slant the greater the difference. Visual inspection shows that for most of the items there were differences among the stairs and that most, not all, were in the expected direction.

(2) The second question is answered here by using Stair 4, composed of the working poor, as the theoretical or expected norm, and measuring differences from it for statistical significance. The rationale for selecting these differences for measurement may be stated briefly: Stair 4 is the status toward which the WIN program is aimed. It is therefore accepted here as the standard for assessing the significance of deviations. In Tables VII-4-8 the starred items were statistically different from Stair 4 at the .05 level (35).

(3) The meaning of the differences is more difficult to determine than their statistical significance. It has to do with the best way to conceptualize the nature of poverty and "the poor". Administrators and others dealing with the poor from at least the seventeenth century have found it necessary to distinguish between what was once called the "worthy" and the "unworthy" poor. In recent years, such pejorative characterizations have been abandoned, but the conceptual necessity is still present to make distinctions in order to avoid blanket policies. Currently distinctions are proposed between those who are now called the "clinical" or the "pathological" or the "lower-lower class" or the "under class" from the non-clinical,

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[34] Women not in the labor force (Stair 1) were more likely to have five or more children than other women, on whatever stair, but this may be a dependent rather than the independent variable. Labor force participation is an accepted explanation for the lowered birth rate around the world. In the United States, the difference between the birth rate of working and non-working mothers is declining, to be commented on below.

[35] See the Appendix to this chapter for the method of computing acceptable deviations from Stair 4 at this level.

non-pathological and upper-lower class families and inviduals (36). If there are such distinctions with respect to certain traits (37), analogies also exist with respect to the kinds of variables here under consideration. To ask this question does not imply that differences are necessarily pejorative in nature. None of the variables discussed in this chapter are so characterized. Still, the importance of the question of differences, however judged, is clear, for policies to deal with categorically different kinds of poor people will have to differ also.

The Stairs and the Demographic Cluster

Among the 12 demographic items in Table VII-2, nine differences were categorical in nature, clearly setting Stair 4 off from Stairs 1, 2, and 3. So far as the presence of white and Puerto Rican women is concerned, as well

TABLE VII-2

DEMOGRAPHIC COMPOSITION OF STAIRS
(in percents)

VARIABLE	TOTAL SAMPLE AFDC MOTHERS (Stairs 1-3)	STAIR 1 Not in Labor Force	STAIR 2 Non-Employed	STAIR 3 Dependently Employed	STAIR 4 (Working Poor)
Race					
Black	68.9	65.7	71.9	83	70
White	18.8*	22.4	16.4*	14*	28
Puerto Rican	12.3*	11.9*	11.7*	13*	2
Age					
15-21	14.4*	14.0*	20.0*	3.0*	0
22-26	26.9	26.7	29.6	21.7	19
27-34	30.5	27.1	31.9	40.0	29
35+	28.2*	31.6*	18.5*	35.4*	52
Education					
High School +	22.6*	18.3*	26.5*	31*	47
Less than H.S.	29.3*	32.9*	27.0*	20	15
Number of Children					
Five +	23.2*	28.1*	16.4*	18*	7
One	16.4*	12.2*	25.0*	15*	39
Children Under Six					
Preschoolers	73.6*	78.5*	74.8*	54.8*	37

*Statistically different from Column 5 at .05 level

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[36] See, e.g., Gans, 1962, p. 268.

[37] For differences with respect to other traits, some of which may legitimately be viewed as abnormal, see Sheldon R. Roen, Appendix D of this report.

as of very young women and women 35 years of age and over, education, number of children, and presence of preschoolers, Stairs 1, 2, and 3 are clearly not in the same universe as Stair 4. All of these findings are in line with those of other studies and are expected. They delineate two universes of "the poor", not on the basis of clinical symptoms but on the basis of demographic composition.

The Non-Demographic Clusters

Among the non-demographic items, Stair 1 was categorically different from Stair 4 on 20 items, Stair 2 on 23, and Stair 3 on only 13. This suggests, though it does not clearly delineate, a continuum. That is, the set of women on Stair 3, the dependently employed, resembled those on Stair 4, the independently employed, in more ways than did the women on either of the other stairs.

In Table VII-3, summarizing the 37 comparisons that can be made with

TABLE VII-3

CLUSTER INCIDENCE OF NON-DEMOGRAPHIC DIFFERENCES AMONG STAIRS BY "CUT-OFF" POINT

Cluster*	"Cut-Off" Point			
	STAIR 1 vs. 2-4	STAIRS 1-2 vs. 3-4	STAIRS 1-3 vs. 4	RANDOM OR NO DIFFERENCES
Domestic				
Maternal Role (6)**	1	2	2	1
Housekeeping (7)	-	3	-	4
Work				
Work-ethic items (4)@	-	-	-	4
Other Motivation Items (2)	-	-	1	1
Worker Role (3)	-	-	-	3
Ascriptive				
Mentality (6)	-	1	1	4
Culture (4)	-	-	4	-
Value of Money (3)	-	1	-	2
Depressant (2)	-	-	2	-
Total (37)	1	7	10	19

*Parenthetical figures indicate number of items in cluster

**There were seven items in this cluster but data were not available from the working poor on one of them.

@There were five items in this cluster but data were not available from the working poor on one of them.

Stair 4, it will be noted that half (18) of the differences were categorical. Three "cut-off" points are implicit. That is, the "cut-off" point could be between non-employment (Stair 2) and employment (Stairs 3 and 4) regardless of welfare status or between welfare status (Stairs 1-3) and independent status (Stair 4), regardless of employment. Which is more frequent? From the summary of the several kinds of differences in Table VII-3, it appears that both are about equally common.

The Stairs and the Domestic-Role Clusters (Table VII-4). Of the six items dealing with the maternal role, one -- preference for taking care of own children -- did not differentiate among the women; most on all the stairs expressed such a preference. Another item, the woman's feeling that her

TABLE VII-4

COMPOSITION OF STAIRS: DOMESTIC-ROLE ITEMS
(In percents)

			Stair		
Variable*	STAIRS 1-3	STAIR 1	STAIR 2	STAIR 3	STAIR 4@
Maternal-Role Items					
Not helpless in mother-child situation	66*	67*	64*	68*	88 ±18.3
Ideal number of children 3 or more	34*	38*	29*	27*	17 ± 8.2
Prefer to care for own children	79	77	78	75	83 ±17.7
Maternal role very important according to children	30	37*	18	27	25 ± 9.7
Help available from friends and relatives	59*	54*	63*	72	82 ±17.7
Help needed (institutional and other)	41*	46*	37*	28*	18 ± 8.3
Housekeeping Items					
Have trouble with housework	38	40	30*	46	50 ± 13.8
Dislike housework	27	26	24	36	25 ± 9.7
Children never willing to help	10	17	6*	16	14 ± 6.6
Children help some	38	34*	34*	51	47 ±13.4
Some help available	33*	30*	28*	56	48 ±13.6
No help	67	70*	72*	44	52 ±18.9
Children always willing to help	37	33	41	42	37 ±11.9

*Difference from Stair 4 statistically significant at .05 level. See Appendix to this chapter for method of arriving at these limits.

@See Appendix to this chapter for method of arriving at limits of acceptability at .05 level.

children valued the maternal role highly, differentiated the non-participants in the labor force (Stair 1) from the participants (Stairs 2-4). In such cases, participation "depended on" the way a woman reported that her children felt about her working. Although the conclusion is reasonable, it rests on a very soft item, a woman's reading of her children's attitude, and may thus merely represent a projection of her own. Further, it applied to only a relatively small proportion of the women.

Of the remaining four items, the two attitudinal items had a cut-off point between Stairs 3 and 4, suggesting that dependent or independent status "depended on" maternal attitudes. But the two hard items dealing with the availability of help with child care had a cut-off point between Stairs 2 and 3, suggesting that actual employment "depended on" having help available for the care of children. In brief, the welfare women were distinguished from the working poor by the maternal-attitude items, regardless of employment status, but the employed women were differentiated from the non-working women by the availability of help with child care, regardless of welfare status. High maternal attitudes characterized all the welfare women; even so, help with child care made it possible for some to become employed.

The housekeeping items were equally clear-cut with respect to the importance of the availability of help. The cut-off point for these help-related items was between Stairs 2 and 3. The sheer fact of having help differentiated between employed women, regardless of welfare status, and non-working women. Attitudes toward housework -- on the woman's part or her children's -- made little difference. Employment "depended on" having help, not on attitude toward housework.

The Stairs and the Worker-Role Clusters (Table VII-5). One of the most unexpected findings of the present study was the seeming lack of relationship between the stair a woman was on and the items in the worker-role cluster. The stair a woman was on did not seem to "depend on" her work history, her motivation, or her conformity to the work ethic. Only one item -- self-confidence or absence of feeling of helplessness in a work situation -- showed a pattern of categorical differences among the stairs. It differentiated between the welfare women and the working poor.

We face here the equivocal situation already commented on, namely, which variable is most meaningfully defined as the independent and which as the dependent variable. Does being independently employed, for example, "depend on" self confidence? Or does self-confidence "depend on" being independently employed? Since about half of the welfare women on each stair did not lack self-confidence, we may say that among them, this item had no relationship to labor-force participation or employment.

The conclusion seems inescapable that much of our thinking about the relationship of worker-role variables and labor-force participation and employment derived from the study of male experience does not apply, certainly not without modification, to female experience.

TABLE VII-5

COMPOSITION OF STAIRS: WORK ROLE ITEMS
(in percents)

VARIABLE*	STAIRS				
	1-3	1	2	3	4
Previous job training	28	24	38*	37*	19 ± 8.6
Worth of training high	38	38	16*	42	33 ±11.3
Worth of training low	28	30	23	31	30 ±10.7
Previous earnings high	25	21	37	19	--
Previous earnings low	34	41	15	48	--
Money incentive to work high	33	31	35	39	37 ±12.0
Success striving high	58	58	54	60	--
Self-confidence	42	52*	50*	49*	80 ±17.5
Prefer job to staying home	79	67	95	86	80 ±17.5
Ashamed or fed up when not working	26	22	27	36	33 ±11.3
Would work even if no need	40	33	52*	43	37 ±12.0
High willingness to train	28	21*	41	30*	51 ±13.8
Work worthwhile	73	62	90	86	--

*Difference from Stair 4 statistically significant at .05 level. See Appendix to this chapter for method of arriving at these limits.

The Stairs and the Status-World Clusters (Table VII-6). Expectably, in line with our assumption that an ascriptive mentality tends to be characteristic of women, most of whom live in a status world, only two of the six items dealing with ascriptive mentality differentiated women on the several stairs. In general, attitude toward the availability of welfare "depended on" whether or not the woman was herself on welfare, but attitude toward abuses of welfare "depended on" whether or not she herself was working.

All four of the items defining the ascriptive culture showed a cut-off point between the welfare women (Stairs 1-3) and the working poor (Stair 4). Being on welfare, regardless of labor-force participation or employment, "depended on" whether or not the woman lived in an ascriptive culture. If she did, the chances that she would be on welfare, though not high in any event, were nevertheless higher than if she did not.

Before we leave Tables 5 and 6, a word on the concepts of "worthy" and "unworthy" poor referred to earlier. We noted there that none of the variables under discussion in this chapter were viewed in these pejorative terms. But the work-ethic items in Table VII-5 and the ascriptive-culture items in Table VII-6 are relevant at least to popular conceptions of

TABLE VII-6

COMPOSITION OF STAIRS: ASCRIPTIVE-WORLD ITEMS
(in percents)

VARIABLE	STAIRS				
	1-3	1	2	3	4
Ascriptive Mentality					
Leniency toward availability of welfare	45	49*	40*	42*	18 ± 8.3
Leniency toward abuse of welfare	65	65*	68*	59	47 ±13.4
Status of welfare mother no low	75	73	77	77	74 ±16.8
Opinion of others toward welfare mothers not low	57	55	60	54	55 ±14.1
Welfare has no effect on child	58	53	65	63	57 ±14.6
Not embarrassed by welfare	66	63	69	69	65 ±15.8
Ascriptive Culture					
Few or no friends work full time	36	41*	29*	28*	19 ± 8.6
Most friends on welfare	27	29*	28*	17*	8 ± 5
Most relatives on welfare	11	14*	8*	16*	2
Mother on welfare some time	17	16*	21*	14*	7 ± 5
Self always on welfare	29	28	25	37	--
Reared by other than parent	13	14	11	11	--

* Difference from Stair 4 statiscitally significant at .05 level. See Appendix to this chapter for method of arriving at these limits.

"worthiness" and "unworthiness". So far as the work-ethic items are concerned, no clear-cut differences between the welfare women and the working poor could be claimed. But so far as the ascriptive-culture items are concerned, far more of the welfare women lived in a world popularly characterized as "unworthy". Not the women themselves, but the world they lived in, warranted the popular characterization of "unworthy".

The Stairs and the Cash-Nexus Cluster (Table VII-7). The only categorically differentiating item in this cluster of three items for which data are available from the working poor had to do with the importance of money for good family relations; and the cut-off point was between the employed (Stairs 3 and 4) and the non-working women (Stairs 1-2). More of the women who had

TABLE VII-7

COMPOSITION OF STAIRS: VALUE-OF-MONEY ITEMS
(in percents)

VARIABLE*	STAIRS				
	1-3	1	2	3	4
Money incentive to work high	34	31	35	39	--
The more money, the more children's peers think of them	33	36	28	32	26 ± 9.8
The more money, the more a child respects his mother	29	31	23	31	23 ± 9.2
The more money, the better family relations	67	60*	62*	52	44 ±13.0
Money highly important in social relations	27	33	17	27	--

*Difference from Stair 4 statistically significant at .05 level. See Appendix to this chapter for method of arriving at these limits.

no income from employment assigned high importance to money in family relations; having no earned income from employment seems to have increased their feeling that money was important to family relations. We are faced once more by the ambiguity of the relationship. Does employment "depend on" the woman's attitude toward the importance of money for good family relations, or does her attitude toward the importance of money for good family relations "depend on" the fact that she is employed?

As in the case of the worker-role items, so here also, it is thought-provoking to note how poorly our thinking based on male experience fits female experience.

The Stairs and the Depressant Cluster (Table VII-8)

The two depressant items -- helplessness in a work situation, as we saw above, and in a mother-child situation -- had cut-off points differentiating the welfare women (Stairs 1-3) from the working poor (Stair 4). Again we raise the question of the direction of the relationship, and again the reply is ambiguous. Did independent employment "depend on" not feeling helpless? Or did not feeling helpless "depend on" being independently employed? An affirmative reply would be equally reasonable in both cases.

TABLE VII-8

COMPOSITION OF STAIRS: DEPRESSANT ITEMS
(in percents)

VARIABLE*	STAIRS				
	1-3	1	2	3	4
High fatalism	43	47	39	35	--
Retreatism	40	41	27	45	--
Helpless in mother-child situation	34	33*	37*	34*	12 ±7.0
Helpless in work situation	48	49*	45*	51*	20 ±8.7

*Difference from Stair 4 statistically significant at .05 level. See Appendix to this chapter for method of arriving at these limits.

Summary

A vignette of the women on Stair 1 would take this form: they tend to be younger than the other women, more of them than the other women have less than ninth grade education, more have five or more children and more have preschoolers. More consider 3+ children an ideal number to have; more feel that their children think the maternal role is important; more feel mother's presence at home is important. More of them than of other women lack help with child care from friends or relatives. Fewer of them than of women on the other stairs prefer a job to staying at home; fewer feel ashamed or fed up when not working; fewer would work even if there were no need to; fewer feel strongly motivated to train for work; fewer think it worth while to work. More of them than of women on other stairs advocate leniency with respect to welfare abuse. More of the women on Stair 1 have few or no friends who work full time; in fact, most of their friends are on welfare. They are slightly more likely than other women to have been reared by others than a parent. More of them than of other women show high fatalism.

The women on Stair 4 show quite different reactions. More of them are 35 years of age and over, more have had at least a high school education. Far fewer have five or more children and far more have only one child. Most feel quite competent in a mother-child situation. As compared with women on the other stairs, very few consider the ideal number of children to be as many as three or more. More of them than of other women have child-care help available from friends or relatives, but far fewer need such help. More of them than of other women are self-confident. Fewer of them have had job training; fewer of them than of other women place high value on such training. Despite this lower estimate of the worth of job training, however, more show willingness to train, even if it involves a new kind of work. Far fewer of them are lenient toward welfare abuse. Only a very small proportion have few or no friends who work full time and practically none say that most of their friends or relatives are on welfare. Very few come from families in which the mother was sometimes on welfare.

The women on Stairs 2 and 3 tend to fall between these two extremes, in some cases on a gradient, as suggested by Tables VII 4-8. Overall, the findings here reported support the conclusion that only the demographic differences among the stairs clearly and unequivocally differentiate the welfare mothers (Stairs 1-3) from the working poor (Stair 4). Among the non-demographic items, although there are differences among the women on the several stairs, many of them are on a continuum and many others random. Such differences are not, in any event, numerous or clear-cut enough to warrant categorization, as in the case of the demographic variables. As measured in terms of deviations from Stair 4, some of the items differentiate the welfare women from the working poor; but about the same number differentiate between the employed, regardless of welfare status, and the nonworking women. Certainly none of the non-demographic differences here discussed warrant pejorative characterization of the women on any of the stairs.

The stairs tell us about populations or sets of women. They tell us how women not in the labor force differ from or resemble those who are in; how those who are non-employed differ from or resemble those who are dependently employed; and how those who are dependently employed differ from or resemble those who are independently employed; and how those on welfare differ from or resemble the working poor. The sieves, or independent variables, now to be discussed, help us see the selective processes which produce these results.

The Sieves in the Present Sample[38]

Questions Asked

In this section we asked what it was about a woman or her circumstances that her labor-force participation and employment depended on. We contacted women in different employment statuses with respect to attitudes and circumstances. We now ask the question from a somewhat different angle. In this and the following section we ask, what is the labor-force participation and employment status of women with different characteristics and in different circumstances. For example: are women with one set of attitudes more or less likely to enter the labor force than women with another? Are women in one set of circumstances more or less likely to enter the labor force than women in another? Comparisons, in brief, are made between women with certain attitudes and in certain circumstances to see how, if at all, they differ in labor-force participation and employment. The findings are summarized in Tables VII-9 - 14.

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[38] The discussion in this section deals with entrance into the labor force, or Step 1. The following section compares Steps 1 and 2. Column 1 in Tables VII-9 - 14 deals with Step 1, Column 2, with Step 2.

Before discussing these tables a word of explanation is in order. Column 1 refers to the proportion of women with the specified attitude or in the specified circumstance who were in the labor force; and Column 2 to the proportion of these women who were actually employed. The first column, therefore, deals with Step 1 and Column 2, with Step 2. In this section, we are concerned only with Step 1; in the following section, Step 1 is compared with Step 2.

In the sample as a whole, 45.4 percent of the women were in the labor force and, of these, 35.9 percent were employed. For any percentage to be statistically significant it would have to deviate from these proportions, the extent of the deviation determined by the level of significance sought. In the present case, the .05 level was imposed. Thus in the first column of Tables VII-9-14, only values less than 32.2 percent or greater than 58.6 percent and in the second less than 24.2 or greater than 47.6 are viewed as deviating sufficiently from the total sample (45.4 and 35.9 percent respectively) or to be statistically significant at the .05 level.

Imposing these severe restraints all but washes out differences in labor force participation and employment among women with different characteristics and in different circumstances, inasmuch as they all contribute substantially to the proportion of the total sample. The interpretation of Tables VII-9-14 is therefore in terms of the rank rather than the absolute magnitude of the percentages in the several clusters.

TABLE VII-9

LABOR-FORCE PARTICIPATION AND EMPLOYMENT
BY DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

Demographic Variable	In Labor Force*	Employed**
Black	47.6	38
White	36.6	35
15-21	45.3	4**
22-26	45.4	28
27-34	51.1	39
35+	38.4	49
High School or More	45.4	31
Less Than High School	38.2	36
Five or More Children	32.4@	36
One Child	58.4@	24**
Preschooler in Family	40.5	27
No Preschooler in Family	53.0	48**
Total Sample	45.4	35.9

*Percentages lower than 32.2 and higher than 58.6 significant at .05 level. See Appendix to this chapter.

**Percentages lower than 24.2 and higher than 47.6 significant at .05 level. See Appendix to this chapter.

@ Marginally significant.

In this section, the discussion deals with the effect of the sieves on Step 1, in the following section, with Step 2.

The Demographic Cluster (Table VII-9)

Expectedly more black than white women were in the labor force, fewer older than younger women, more educated than uneducated, fewer with five-or-more children, and fewer with preschoolers. Expecially notable is the disparity in the proportion in the labor force between women with five-or-more children and women with only one child. Both percentages are at the limits of "statistical significance" and far beyond question so far as meaningful differences are concerned. Family structure was by far the most important of the demographic variables. Women with many children, especially if some were preschoolers, were not likely to be in the labor force.

The Non-Demographic Clusters

The Domestic-Role Clusters (Table VII-10). Although women who placed high importance on the maternal role were not likely to be in the labor force among those who had child-care help available from friends or neighbors, over half were. Among those who had to rely on institutional or other child-care provisions, only about a third were. There is certainly nothing surprising in this finding; it serves once more to remind us of the intervening variables between the critical demographic size-of-family variable and labor-force participation. Women with many children -- in our sample women high on the maternal-role variable tended to have more children than other women -- have an understandably low rate of labor-force participation.

Two-fifths of the women who had no help with their housework were in the labor force; half of those who had some help were. Only a third of mothers whose children helped only unwillingly were in the labor force. For the woman whose children were unwilling to help, one can well imagine her concluding that it was easier to do the work herself than to nag at the child to do it. (Of all the families in the sample of welfare mothers, only 3.5 per cent included teenagers and only 22.5 percent children 6 to 12 years of age.) A dislike of housework was related to labor force participation in almost half of the women but having trouble with housework was related in about two-fifths. This is a case when labor force participation might well be the independent variable since women in the labor force, especially those actually at work, would be likely to have trouble with housework (see discussion of Table VII-4). Here, then, as with the maternal role items, lack of help seemed to be a major factor influencing labor-force participation and, also like the maternal role items, it serves as an intervening variable to help us understand the demographic variables.

TABLE VII-10

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION AND EMPLOYMENT STATUS BY DOMESTIC ROLE ITEMS (in percents)

DOMESTIC ROLE	IN LABOR FORCE* (Step 1)	EMPLOYED° (Step 2)
Maternal		
Mother very important in home	29.1*	48
Maternal role very important according to children	30.3*	47
Child care needed (institutional or other)	34.5	35
Ideal number of children 3 or more	36.7	33
*Prefer to take care of own children	42.8	35
*Not helpless in mother-child situation	44.0	35
*Child care available from friends or relatives	51.5	34
Housekeeping		
Children never help willingly	34.1	64*
Have trouble	41.9	44
*None done by others	42.6	25
Dislike	47.5	46
Some done by others	50.4	52*
Children help some	49.4	47
Children always help willingly	51.8	43

*Any value beyond 32.2 or 58.6 is significant at .05 level. See Appendix to this chapter.

°Any value beyond 24.2 or 47.6 significant at .05 level. See Appendix to this chapter.

The Work-Role Clusters (Table VII-11). The eight items in the motivational aspect of this cluster may, as we saw above, be subdivided into five that have to do with attitude toward work as such and three that deal with motivation and feelings of competence. The work-related items comprise such attitudes as these: prefer to work even if there is no need, would rather work than stay home, feel it is worthwhile to work, feel ashamed and fed up when not working, and want to work enough so that they will undertake training even in an unfamiliar area. The other three items refer to: success striving, money motivation and self-confidence or, at least, no feeling of helplessness in a work situation. Of the two kinds of items, the first -- or work-ethic items -- seemed to be more influential in attracting or impelling women into the labor force than the second.

TABLE VII-11[+]

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION AND EMPLOYMENT STATUS BY WORK ROLE ITEMS
(in percents)

WORKER ROLE	IN LABOR FORCE (Step 1)	EMPLOYED (Step 2)
Attitudinal and motivational Items		
*It is worthwhile to work	53.6	35
Ashamed or fed up when not working	52.2	42
*Prefer job to staying home	51.3	34
Would work full time even if no need	55.0	30
Willing to undertake training even in new field	57.7	28
*Success striving high	44.3	38
High money motivation to work	45.0	38
*No feeling of helplessness in work situation	46.3	35
Work-history Items		
Previous job training	52.0	44
Low worth of job training	40.8	43
High worth of job training	44.9	40
Previous earnings high	57.4	22*
Previous earnings low	35.9	65

[+] See footnote for Table VII-10.

[*] See Appendix to this chapter.

The five remaining work-history items may be subdivided into "hard" and "soft", the first having to do with previous job training and with earnings and the second with evaluation of job training. Having had previous job training made little difference in labor force participation, about half of those who had had such previous training being in the labor force. Among those who had had such training it made little difference, however, whether they judged it worthwhile or not.

What did make a considerable amount of difference, however, was potential earning ability as measured by previous earnings. Among those with high previous earnings, 57.4 percent were in the labor force whereas among those with low previous earnings, only 35.9 percent. The logic of the situation seems clear. Women with low earning potential would be less likely to improve their situation by taking a job; those with high potential would be more likely to. The relevance of this finding for the WIN program is clear. Improving the earning potential of women should, other things being equal, have a stimulating effect on labor force participation.

The Status-World Clusters (Table VII-12). Overall, fewer than half of the women with an ascriptive mentality were in the labor force. Since all the percentages hugged the percentage of the total sample in the labor force (45.4 percent), the implication is that this variable did not differentiate between those in and not in the labor force. Some of the items in this cluster were, however, more differentiating than others. The item on lenient availability of welfare was the most differentiating. Least differentiating was the item dealing with the opinion of others of welfare mothers. By and large, it may be concluded, as expected, that the items used as indices of an ascriptive mentality did not differentiate between those in and not in the labor force.

TABLE VII-12[+]

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION AND EMPLOYMENT STATUS
BY STATUS-WORLD ITEMS
(in percents)

VARIABLE	IN LABOR FORCE	EMPLOYED
Ascriptive Mentality		
Lenient on availability of welfare	38.8	37
Lenient or very lenient toward welfare abuse	43.9	33
Not embarrassed by being on welfare	47.6	36
Opinion of others of welfare mothers not low	45.5	34
Status of welfare mothers not low	46.4	36
Welfare has no negative effect on children	48.9	36
Ascriptive Culture		
Most relatives on welfare	26.1*	17*
Most friends on welfare	39.6	26
Few or no friends work full time	35.6	37
Mother sometimes on welfare	27.7*	31
Self on welfare all the time	45.2	46
Support by other than parent in childhood	38.2	41

[+] See footnote to Table VII-10.

*Significant at .05 level.

In contrast to the ascriptive-mentality items, however, the ascriptive-culture items did seem to exert a strong negative influence on labor-force participation. Significantly fewer women whose mothers had sometimes been on welaare than those whose mothers had not, were in the labor force (39); but, surprisingly, almost half of the women who had themselves always been on welfare in recent years were also in the labor force. These were apparently the women referred to above who could not earn enough on a job to maintain themselves and therefore, required welfare to eke out earnings, the women whose earning capacity was low but who were willing to accept low paying jobs if the pay was supplemented.

A situation analagous to racial segregation as related to school achievement may be hypothesized to prevail with respect to the effect of an ascriptive culture on labor force participation of welfare women. James Coleman (1966), in a study of the school achievement of black school children, found that, regardless of the color of classmates, their school performance was improved by the presence of abler and higher status children. Exposure to an upper-middle class academic culture that took certain goals and work patterns for granted, in brief, had a stimulating effect on black school children.

The Cash-Nexus Cluster (Table VII-13). All five of the items in this cluster have to do with the value assigned to money. The most surprising finding with respect to this variable is that the relationship to labor force participation is the opposite to expectation if one views this as an independent variable. One would expect that if women place a high value on money, they would be stimulated to enter the labor force. Apparently, this was not the case. The value placed on money appears rather to be the dependent variable here, not being in the labor force influencing attitude toward money rather than the other way around (See discussion of Table VII-7 above).

TABLE VII-13[+]

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION AND EMPLOYMENT
STATUS BY VALUE-OF-MONEY VARIABLES
(in percents)

VARIABLES	IN LABOR FORCE	EMPLOYED
Money very important in social relations	32.2*	47
*The more money, the better the family gets along	40.6	35
The more money a mother has, the more her children respect her	40.0	40
The more money a mother has, the more her children's friends respect them	40.4	38
Monetary motive to work high	45.0	38

[+] See footnote to Table VII-10

*See Appendix to this chapter.

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[39] In view of the fear of the "inheritance of poverty" bugbear which this conclusion might tend to confirm, it is important to note that only 17 percent of the welfare mothers had mothers who had ever been on welfare. We are dealing, therefore, with only a small proportion of all the welfare mothers when we think in terms of "inheritance of poverty."

It is the consistency rather than the extent of difference in labor-force participation shown on the five money-related items that is persuasive. The most differentiating item -- importance accorded to money in social relations -- invites a moment of attention. A downgrading of the importance of money in parent-child and in family relations fits well into the status world where money is not presumed to play an important part. But downgrading the importance of money even in social relations does not conform to the expectable pattern of the cash-nexus world. It is all the more interesting to note that this was the most differentiating item, implying that the women here discussed were not immersed in the cash-nexus world even outside of the family. All one can say is that money viewed as an independent variable did not operate as an incentive in this sample as one might expect in a male sample drawn from a cash-nexus world.

The Depressant Cluster (Table VII-14). Two of the depressant items had, as expected, an inhibiting effect on labor force participation. Retreatism is discussed in some detail elsewhere and is therefore not discussed further here. Feelings of helplessness had little effect on labor force participation. The most interesting item was the one dealing with fatalism. In the Coleman study referred to above, it was found that students who felt that their efforts would be rewarded did better than those who did not. In an analogous way, it may be concluded that women characterized by a high degree of fatalism would be less likely to enter the labor force and thus get more control over their lives. This expectation was borne out. Women who were high on fatalism were far more likely to withdraw from the labor force (62.1 percent) than to enter it (38.9 percent). The implications for policy are suggestive: perhaps opportunities to succeed, demonstrating that effort could be rewarded, would reduce fatalism and thus encourage labor force participation.

TABLE VII-14[+]

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION AND EMPLOYMENT
STATUS BY DEPRESSANT VARIABLES
(in percents)

VARIABLES	IN LABOR FORCE	EMPLOYED
High fatalism	38.9	34
High retreatism	36.9	45
Helpless in work situation	44.2	37
Helpless in mother-child situation	47.4	31

[+] See footnote to Table VII-10.

So much, then, for the variables viewed as clusters of items. Briefly, the availability of help with child care and with housework released women for the availability of help with child care and with housework released women for labor force participation; so did high earning potential as measured by past earnings. The work-ethic variable was also important. Selecting women out of the labor force were such factors as low earning potential, living in an ascriptive culture, and such depressant variables as retreatism and fatalism. An ascriptive mentality made little difference in labor force participation. High value placed on money had a contra-logical effect in terms of the cash-nexus assumptions, suggesting that it was a dependent rather than an independent variable in the analyses here attempted.

Summary of Effect of Sieves on Labor-Force Participation

The outstanding conclusion from Tables VII-10 to VII-14 is that the non-demographic variables selected for study here did not succeed in clearly differentiating the women in the labor force from those not in the labor force. Only 6 out of 27 items were significant or even marginally significant at the .05 level.

If, however, we examine the general direction of the deviations from the theoretical or expected values rather than their absolute size, it is possible to discern drifts which, though not significant item by item, do give cues. Thus, all but one of the items in the maternal role cluster are on the negative side, suggesting that this variable tends to have an inhibiting effect on labor force participation, two of the items significantly so. The one item that deviates in the positive direction has to do with the availability of help from friends or relatives. The items dealing with having help with housework also deviate positively, the others, negatively. The items indicating high work-ethic attitudes deviate positively, one significantly. High earning capacity as measured by previous earnings is significantly deviant on the positive side. The ascriptive mentality items deviate almost randomly, two negatively, three positively, one not at all. The ascriptive-culture items tend to deviate negatively, one significantly. The value-of-money and the depressant items, similarly, show a tendency to deviate on the negative side.

Thus, along with the first conclusion, that clear-cut statistically significant differences between the women in and not in the labor force have not been documented here, a second conclusion does appear to be warranted, namely, that not placing a high value on the maternal role, high work-ethic attitudes, high earning capacity, and especially the availability of help with child care and housekeeping, tend to encourage labor force participation whereas high value placed on the maternal role, living in an ascriptive culture, not placing a high value on money, and fatalism, retreatism, and feelings of helplessness, especially in a work situation, have an inhibiting effect on labor force participation.

Insistence on rigorous tests of significance may lead to Type II errors, that is, rejecting differences when they are actually present; acceptance of consistency or general drift of differences may lead to Type I errors, accepting differences when they are not actually present. The position here taken leans toward avoidance of Type II errors. It leads to the conclusion that the differences shown here are real, but they are so small that the instrument used was not adequate to focus them clearly and unequivocally.

The Steps: Relative Influence of the Independent Variables on Steps 1 and 2

Questions Asked

The discussion of the sieves in the preceding pages dealt only with entrance into the labor force, which is merely the first step; the second has to do with the ability to get and hold a job. The questions asked here, then, are: do the several items in the independent variables have the same relative weight in the second as in the first step? Are the same factors at work to influence entrance into employment as into the labor force? Are the first and second steps psychologically and sociologically the same? Is entering the labor force the same as finding or holding a job? Are the policies needed to encourage them the same?

The first step, into the labor market, is largely a decision of the girl or woman herself. She is the one who, at least ostensibly, makes the decision. Even in the case of men, however, the decision is not altogether independent of outside forces; in the case of women it is even less so. If jobs are hard to come by and those that are available not congenial, the first step in the case of women is less likely to be taken. She is undoubtedly influenced by a wide variety of forces, but she alone has to decide. Pressures are exerted and circumstances may become coercive; still, the focus of interest is on the woman herself. Motivation is the basic variable. But the second step -- from non-employment or unemployment to employment -- involves even more. The woman's motivation constitutes only one factor determining this step.

The conditions of the labor market are more immediately involved in the second step, and these are quite beyond the purview of the would-be worker. During war times, for example, almost everyone who wants to can take the step; during a recession, even individuals of high qualifications may not be able to. Sometimes artificial barriers prevent some from taking this step: union regulations, prejudice, discrimination. Age, sex, race or ethnicity are no longer permitted to determine who may take this step, although there are, to be sure, ways of circumventing such prohibitions.

Even among women who succeed in taking the second step from non-employment to employment, not all can take the third step, to independence. Not only do motivation and labor market forces play an important part in this step, but so also do qualifications and skills. Preparation for this step is one of the goals of the WIN program. Providing jobs for those prepared for them is another. It will be recalled that we are dealing here only with steps 1 and 2 and therefore we have little to say with respect to the third step.

Since all the women in the present study were in the same labor market (40), and since all those here under discussion had already made the

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[40] See Chapter III for a discussion of the labor market involved in the present study.

decision to enter the labor force, both the motivational and the labor market variables may be viewed as, in effect, "held constant".

But there are also other factors involved. A woman may be unemployed not because she does not want a job nor because there is no job for her but because, for circumstantial reasons, she cannot hold a job. And, she may not be able to hold a job because other obligations, to family, for example, make her an unreliable worker. Or she may be unemployed not because she does not want to work but because she does not want the job offered or available. There is, in brief, a wide variety of factors in addition to motivation and labor market influencing the second, as well as the first, step.

Differences in Impact of Variables on Steps 1 and 2

The discussion that follows deals with the 181 women who had taken the first step, into the labor market, 65 of whom had also taken the second step, into employment. The women who were waiting for WIN training or who were already in the WIN program, counted as in the labor force in the preceding discussion because they had made the decision to enter the labor force, are not included in the present discussion. Instead of comparing "employed" and "nonemployed" women we are here comparing women who are "employed" and "unemployed" in the generally accepted meaning of the terms. Since the numbers are small, sampling errors are increasingly probable so that more than usual caution is called for in interpreting the data.

The most striking finding is the inverse relationship in the relative importance of the several items in the clusters in the first and in the second step. The second correlations are shown in Table VII-15. Although none of these correlations achieved statistical significance, practically all -- however short of statistical significance -- were negative in direction, indicating, if anything, what the relative importance of the items in the several clusters was reversed in the two steps.

Illustrations may help us understand the seeming anomaly involved here. High previous earnings, as we saw earlier, led women into the labor force, but not, apparently, into actual employment. These women were doubtless those who rejected jobs they considered below their level of skill. Contrariwise, women whose past earnings were low, though hesitant about entering the labor force, once in were apparently likely to take even the menial jobs. The women who considered it very important for the mother to be in the home were not likely to enter the labor force. But once in, they were likely to take and hold jobs. Perhaps their last preschooler had entered school. Few of the women whose children never willingly helped with the housework entered the labor force; but most, once in, were employed. Somehow or other they came to terms with the problem.

The existence of a reverse relationship among the independent variables at Steps 1 and 2 is a clear indication of the presence of intervening variables between these independent variables and labor-force participation and employment which has not as yet been clearly delineated. As in the old adage, so here too, there appear to be many a slip between the cup and the lip,

TABLE VII-15

RANK CORRELATION BETWEEN WEIGHT OF
ITEMS IN STEP 1 AND STEP 2

VARIABLES	RHO	RHO REQUIRED FOR .05 LEVEL*
Maternal Role (7 items)	-.41	.714
Housekeeping (7)	-.18	.714
Work Ethic (5)	-.63	.900
Previous job training and pay (5)	0	.900
Ascriptive Mentality (6)	-.17	.829
Ascriptive Culture (6)	+.37	.829
Value of Money (5)	-.78	.900
Depressant (4)	-.80	1.000

*See, Siegel, 1956, p. 284.

between entrance into the labor market and getting and holding a job. Women may be motivated to enter the labor force but, once in, many forces may operate to keep them from actually getting or holding a job. These factors may vary from lack of talent, skill, discipline, or other "hard-core" characteristics in the women themselves, through family complications, to unwillingness of employers to hire them, to sheer lack of available jobs. Or, in the case of some, to a lack of jobs conformable to the abilities of the women themselves. This is an area that clearly calls for further illumination. For in view of the small number of significant items, the inconclusive drifts, and the negative relationship with labor-force participation, we conclude that the factors involved in the second step have not been adequately isolated here.

"Traditional" and "Modernizing" Women

A considerable research literature, as noted earlier, has documented a distinction between women with predominantly domestic interests and women with greater work or career orientation (reviewed in Bernard, 1971, Chapter 1). Samuel Klausner has extended the perspective of this distinction from a psychological to a developmental one, distinguishing women who cling to the status world from those who enter the cash-nexus world. At this point we attempt to sharpen this distinction among welfare mothers in the present sample.

So far in connection with both sieves and steps, we have been dealing with clusters of related items assumed to define variables on the assumption that several indicators were better than one for delineating variables. If one item in a cluster cancels another, that is technically legitimate since if an item can be cancelled it is not an adequate indicator and cannot be given full weight. The results, however, are sometimes confusing. At this point, therefore, selected items from different clusters are combined to differentiate "traditional" and "modernizing" types of women. Table VII-16 summarizes the way these two "types" responded at Steps 1 and 2.

TABLE VII-16

PERCENT OF WOMEN AT STEPS 1 AND 2 CONTROLLING FOR "TRADITIONAL" AND "MODERNIZING" ORIENTATIONS

"TYPE"	IN LABOR FORCE (Step 1)	EMPLOYED (Step 2)
"Traditional" Women		
Mother important in home	29	48
Maternal role very important	30	47
Ascriptive mentality (status of welfare mother not low)	46	36
Five or more children	32	39
Preschoolers	41	21
Not helpless in mother-child relation	47	44
"Modernizing" Women		
Prefer job to staying home	51	34
Would work even if no need to	55	30
Ashamed or fed up if not working	52	42
Work because of money	45	38
Success depends on hard work	44	38
Not helpless in work situation	47	44
Would train even in new field	58	28
Only one child	58	26
No preschoolers	53	50

It will be noted that the range of proportions who were in the labor force was from 29 to 47 percent among the "traditionals", from 44 to 58 percent, among the "modernizers". That is, the "traditionals" tended to take Step 1 less often than did the total sample (45.4 percent), the "modernizers", more often. The average of the six percentages among the "traditionals" was only 36 percent, of the nine among the "modernizers", 51 percent. On the basis of the indicators here used, the "modernizers" were far more likely to enter the labor force than the "traditionals".

But the responses at Step 2 were not equally differentiated. The range among the "traditionals" was 21 to 48 percent, among the "modernizers", 26 to 50, and the average percentages, 38 and 37 percent respectively, about the same as for the total population (36 percent).

Once again we find a clear-cut difference between Step 1 and Step 2, suggesting that forces other than the characteristics of the women themselves are also operating to affect employment.

Summary

Women in the present study did not differ from all women in their response to the stresses of life in our society. Labor force participation was determined by the same demographic factors as those which determine labor force participation by all women in a society like ours with a given sexual allocation of functions. The major reason for female labor force participation by mothers in such a society is absence of a male head of family to perform the provider function. The women in the present sample differed, where they did, primarily in the fact that the circumstances which deter or inhibit labor force participation -- low schooling, youthfulness, large number of children, presence of preschool children -- were more common among them than among all women.

The present study which attempted to delineate non-demographic variables to interpret labor force participation and employment status among welfare mothers and the working poor did not locate any that were unequivocally convincing. It did confirm the effect of certain non-demographic variables as intervening variables between the demographic variables and labor force participation. Thus, adding the non-demographic variables supplemented the demographic, but did not provide a wholly new dimension.

The population of women who were not in the labor force (Stair 1) tended to differ from the population of the working poor (Stair 4). The population of the non-employed (Stair 2) and and the dependently employed (Stair 3) assumed an intermediate position between them on some of the variables, suggesting a gradient between those not in the labor force, those in the labor force but non-employed, the dependently employed, and the independently employed. Some of the differences among the populations on the several stairs suggested categorical rather than gradient differences. But, for many of the items used as indicators of the non-demographic variables, the differences were random in nature, precluding any firm generalization of either gradient or categorical differences. There was, however, some evidence that the dependently employed (Stair 3) were more like the working poor (Stair 4) than either the non-employed (Stair 2) or those not in the labor force (Stair 1).

Women who were motivated by a work-ethic were more likely to be in the labor force than were women motivated by monetary influences or belief in work as a factor in success. Women whose previous earnings had been high were more likely to enter the labor force than women whose previous earnings had been low. An ascriptive mentality did not affect labor force participation, but living in an ascriptive culture had a negative effect for the relatively few who did. A high feeling of fatalism had an inhibiting influence on labor participation as did retreatism also. The availability of help with child care and housework was a major factor inducing women to take the first step, into the labor force. As in studies of other women, two "types" were distinguishable in the present sample, namely "housewives" or "traditionals" and "career or work oriented", or "modernized". The second, as among all women, were more likely to be in the labor force than the first.

Although none of the rank correlations of items related to the two steps -- into the labor force and into employment -- were statistically significant, they tended to be negative in direction suggesting that the factors leading to labor force participation did not necessarily lead also into employment. The difference was especially interesting as related to earning capacity. High earning ability as measured by previous earnings stimulated women to enter the labor market but inhibited them from accepting employment, at least the kind of employment available to them.

Implications for Policy

The step from knowledge or information to policy is by no means simple. No amount of data renders policy decisions automatic. The nineteenth-century dream that in time the figures of speech would be superseded by the figures of arithmetic has by no means been realized. And the warnings of the laissez-faire theorists about the hazards of intervention still have relevance. Even when all the facts are in, all the surveys analyzed, the question remains: what to do?

Criteria for Priorities in Intervention

In the present context, some criteria for establishing priorities with respect to policies for intervention are called for. Three are proposed here: (1) items that apply to at least half of all the women should receive first priority; (2) among these, removal of factors that have a negative effect on labor-force participation should be given first priority; and (3) of these, those most amenable to intervention should receive first priority. All of these criteria are open to challenge; they are certainly not offered as ideal. Application to the present sample gives the results shown in Table VII-17.

The conclusions are not auspicious. Race and the presence of preschoolers, the two variables that pass the first criterion -- applying to at least half of the sample -- and the second, having a negative effect on labor-force participation are not amenable to interventions, and therefore do not offer guides to policy. Of the three items that have a positive effect on labor-force participation, one -- child care available -- is amenable to intervention (41). Thus, although the presence of preschoolers cannot be changed, care of such children can be provided. And provision of such care would seem to deserve first priority.

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41 Working mothers, as of 1965, made provision for the care of their preschool children as follows: by relatives, 46.8 peccent; by non-relatives, 30.1 percent; and by group care centers, 5.6 percent (Women's Bureau, 1969 Handbook, p. 49). In the present sample, 62.4 percent of the welfare mothers said they had friends or relatives available for child care if they entered the labor force, as compared with the 76.9 percent of all working mothers who did.

TABLE VII-17

APPLICATION OF THREE CRITERIA TO SELECTED ITEMS

First Criterion: Items Applying to at Least Half of Women in Sample	Second Criterion: Effect on Labor-Force Participation *	Third Criterion: Amenability to Intervention
The more money, the better family gets along	none	
Ascriptive mentality (all items)	none	
Worthwhile to work	+	See text discussion
Prefer job to staying home	+	See text discussion
Success striving high	none	
No feeling of helplessness in work situation	none	
No housework done by others	none	
Child care available	+	Amenable
No feeling of helplessness in mother-child situation	none	
Prefer to care for own child	none	
Preschoolers present	-	Not amenable
Black	none	
White, Puerto Rican	-	Not amenable

*An item was assumed to have no effect on labor-force participation if it deviated from 45.4 percent by about 5 percent. Any percentage between about 40 and 50 would have roughly a 50-50 chance of being "statistically significant".

With respect to the two items that have a positive effect on labor-force participation, a reasonable case for the feasibility of intervention might be made. It could be argued that work could be made to appear worthwhile to more women if the work were congenial and well paid and that if this goal were achieved, more women would prefer to work. But if such a policy is seriously undertaken, the ramifications throughout the whole social system would have to be taken into account. It would accelerate the increase in the proportion of "modernizing" women at the expense of "traditional" women, with far reaching implications for women in the non-welfare population as well as for those in the welfare population.

The First Priority: Issues and Non-Answers

Although we have emphasized the fact that the women in our sample resembled all women in their pattern of labor-force participation, we also noted that they were more vulnerable to the stresses resulting from the absence of the circumstances required by the sexual allocation of functions in our society, provision for the provider function. More than other women, these women lacked anyone to perform this function (42). They were, therefore, caught in a bind. On one hand, they were called upon to take care of their children, the traditional pattern in our society, but also to perform the provider role for these children.

The reasons for this anomalous situation have been widely discussed. There has even been a theory that the women deliberately put themselves in this bind to be eligible for welfare payments. There has been on the part of some critics strong resentment against a situation in which women permitted themselves to bear children for whose support no male was responsible. Prevention of the need for welfare by eliminating the circumstances that made it necessary has seemed the simplest, most straightforward path. Thus, a great deal of thinking on the subject has zeroed in on the birth rate, especially the illegitimacy rate, among women who have no male partner with whom to share responsibility for the care of children. The logic is impeccable, though not completely convincing in the face of certain trends.

In the past few years, for example, AFDC rolls have burgeoned. At the same time, fertility rates have declined. In 1955, the fertility rate for white women was 114, in 1968, 82; the comparable rates for black and other races were 155 and 115 (U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1971a, p. 113). The percent of female headed families below the poverty line has declined from 30 to 25 percent for white women between 1959 and 1970, from 65 to 54 percent for black women (Ibid., p. 37). The average number of children expected by young women in 1967 was considerably less (2.9 and 2.8 for white and black women respectively) than the average number expected by women 35-39 (3.2 and 4.2 for white and black women respectively) (Ibid., p. 116). Although the estimated illegitimacy rates for white women increased from 9.2 per thousand in 1960 to 13.2 per 1000 in 1968, the rates for black and other races declined from 98.3 to 86.6 per thousand (Ibid., p. 114). And, the percent of female-headed households with two or more children below the poverty line fell from 50.1 percent in 1960 to 44.9 percent in 1970 among white women and from 81.1 to 65.7 percent among black women (U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1971b, p. 186-187). With so many apparently favorable trends in the decade of the 1960's, why did AFDC rolls increase? There were, to be sure, less favorable trends also. The proportion of female-headed households increased, from 22.4 to 28.9 per cent among black and other races and from 8.7 to 9.4 percent among white families (Ibid., p. 107). And the average size of households with female heads below the poverty line among black families increased from 3.3 to 3.4 (Ibid., p. 82).

If, in the face of seemingly favorable demographic trends, AFDC rolls could still increase, we should be on our guard against any one-to-one expectations with respect to the impact of policy on trends. There is no doubt that declining fertility rates, declining illegitimacy rates and declining proportion of female headed families below the poverty line should

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[42] In 1970, 53.2 percent of female family heads were below the poverty line; in 1960, 65.4 percent (U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1971b, p. 80). In 1969, 58 percent of Negro families with incomes under $3,000 and 29 percent of white families, were headed by females (Bureau of the Census, 1971, p. 109).

ultimately have an effect on the AFDC rolls. But, for the present, there has apparently not yet been enough time to make it apparent.

Whether or not the birth rate is amenable to deliberate intervention has been much mooted by demographers. There are no clear-cut examples of any change in the birth rate that could be directly traceable to policy (43). In the United States, the problem is greatly complicated by the racial situation. Attempts to use pressure on welfare women to use contraception arouse strong opposition on the part of militant blacks, especially black males. The hostile reception of the so-called Moynihan Report documenting the importance of family structure for poverty among blacks and the charges of genocide made by black militant leaders whenever plans for making contraception available for poor women are proposed are examples of the resistance if not inaccessibility of family structure to intervention by policy (44).

But the fact that in the past it has been difficult to influence the birth rate by deliberate policy does not mean that such a goal is impossible. Despite the ideological objection to family planning embedded in the term genocide, black women actually favor it (Darity, Turner and Thiebaux, 1971, p. 8). And, black men would be more sympathetic if programs were operated by blacks themselves. A study of 96 black women and 53 black men in a medium sized New England city came up with the following set of recommendations:

> For public relations, it would seem that the need for change in terminology in describing or referring to black clients has been demonstrated. The 30 and under age group overwhelmingly prefers either black or Afro-American to colored or Negro. This is also true of a clear majority of the over 30 group. Because younger males and females are either users or potential users of family planning services, it would seem desirable for administrators to encourage staff use of terminology which is more acceptable to this age group.
>
> The finding that 68 percent of the subjects feel that birth control clinics are aimed at low income groups could serve as a deterrent to use of these services by black participants, since such a high percentage fall into the low income category. It would seem advisable that in planning program development, emphasis be placed on "open services" for all segments of the population with public clinics and services available to all segments of the population.

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[43] A generation ago, demographers, surprised to find that the birth rate in Nazi Germany did seem to respond to government pronatalist policy, found, upon analysis, that the entire increase in the birth rate could be accounted for by the abolition of abortion. All over the world, the birth rate began to rise at about the same time, even in the United States, at the depth of the depression.

[44] It is important to note in this connection, however, that the original rejection of this report was sparked not by black leaders, but by white social workers. See Rainwater and Yancey (1967).

> Special attention must be given to the black male in the 30 and under age group. The highest degree of concern and negative attitudes were observed in this age group with regard to purpose and objectives of birth control services. The same negative attitudes were observed in this age group with regard to purpose and objectives of birth control services. The same negative attitudes were observed in the case of abortions and sterilization among this age group, as compared with the over-30 male and all age categories among females.
>
> In order to reduce the suspicion evidenced in this sector, consideration should be given to their preference for community control of birth control clinics. The idea of control is supported by 78 percent of black males in the 30 and under age group. Their involvement in planning and direction, so that they will know and understand the operations of such clinics, seems important. Administrators and developers of such services should make an all out effort to include young black males (Ibid., p. 11-12).

More relevant for the WIN program is policy having to do with labor force participation. If the latent function of child-care programs is to reduce the birth rate by encouraging labor force participation, there is good evidence to support it. Participation in the labor force as an anti-natalist policy has had respectable research support from demographers both here and in the rest of the world (Bernard, 1971a). We have already noted that children take time out of a woman's work history and conversely, not having children, increases the years in the labor force, although there is some evidence that working women in the United States are reducing the differential in birth rates between themselves and women not in the labor force (Bernard, 1971b).

If the manifest function of the child care plans are indeed to make it possible for more AFDC mothers to work in order to achieve self-support, it has been pointed out that the cost is higher than welfare payments. It is cheaper to take care of dependents in a household than in a public institution. Until now, it has not been likely that AFDC mothers could earn enough to support their families, for "most would not earn more than the AFDC payment if employed in occupations for which they could qualify" (Cox, 1970, ;. 15)(45). The pay of the mothers would have to be improved considerably. Otherwise, even with child care facilities, many would still remain on Stair 3, dependently employed (46).

Returning now to the long term perspective with which we began, it may be pointed out that the issues being confronted by all women are also the issues here. For all women, a reduction in emphasis on the maternal

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[45] Irene Cox (1970) reports much the same findings with respect to the demographic variables as those found in the present study.

[46] See reference to the experience in Washington.

role is being sought as part of the effort to reduce population growth. Thus, for all women, antinatalist policies include greater participation in the labor force and, to encourage this, better pay and elimination of all discriminatory practices (Bernard, 1971b). For all women, reduction in the psychological dependency -- ascriptive mentality -- characteristic of the status world will doubtless accompany these changes. And it is well to remind ourselves that our society is in a great convulsive change with respect to the child care function, not only in the inner city, but in the suburbs as well. The drive for child-care centers has implications for policy far beyond the removal of mothers from welfare rolls.

Appendix

The calculation of permitted deviations in Tables 9-14 was as follows. The proportion of the entire sample of welfare mothers was taken as the theoretical or expectable proportion, 45.4 percent for labor force participation and 35.9 percent for employment. To achieve significance at the .05 level for one degree of freedom (in or not in the labor force, employed or not employed), chi square values must equal 3.841. Thus, the deviation squared divided by 45.4 in one case and 35.9 in the other must equal 3.841.

$$\frac{\text{deviation}^2}{45.4} = 3.841 \qquad \text{deviation}^2 = 174.24 \qquad \text{deviation} = 13.2$$

$$\frac{\text{deviation}^2}{35.9} = 3.841 \qquad \text{deviation}^2 = 122.85 \qquad \text{deviation} = 11.7$$

The accompanying table gives acceptable deviations at the .05 level for selected percentages to help interpret the percentages in Tables 3-8. Here the percentage of the working poor (Stair 4) for any particular item is the theoretical or expected percentage from which deviations are measured.

TABLE VII-18

ACCEPTABLE DEVIATIONS FROM SPECIFIED PERCENTAGES
FOR NULL HYPOTHESIS AT .05 LEVEL

PERCENTAGE	ACCEPTABLE DEVIATION
10	6.2
15	7.6
20	8.7
25	9.7
30	10.7
35	11.5
40	12.4
45	13.1
50	13.8
55	14.1
60	15.2
65	15.8
70	16.4
75	16.9
80	17.5
85	18.0
90	18.6

The following are the components of the composite variables. The constituent items in these measures consisted of replies to the following questions.

The Ascriptive Mentality Variable

> Assuming jobs are available, do you think that welfare should be available to families in the following situations? Reply, lenient (IV-64).
>
> Would you criticize people who abuse welfare? Reply, lenient or very lenient (IV-71).
>
> My children have been teased or discriminated against because our family is on welfare. Reply, negative (III-49).
>
> There are times when I have been embarrassed in front of my family by friends because of being on welfare. Reply, negative (III-51).

The Ascriptive Culture Variable

> How many of your friends are working full time now--I mean 35 or more hours a week? Reply, few or none (IV-18).
>
> How many of these friends are on welfare now? Reply, most (IV-19).
>
> How many of these relatives--not living in your house or apartment--are on welfare now? Reply, most (IV-21).
>
> How many different times have you been on welfare in the last four years? Reply, all the time (IV-22).
>
> Who was the main support (brought in most of the money) in the household in which you grew up? Reply, "Other" (aunt, uncle, grandparent) (IV-26).
>
> Who much of the time was your mother on welfare when you were growing up? Reply, sometimes (IV-27).

The Work Ethic Variable

> When I am unemployed I feel ashamed; if I did not work I think I would be fed up. Reply, coded high (III-22).
>
> In the near future (whether or not you are working now), would you prefer a full time job or would you prefer to stay at home. Reply, coded high (III-29).
>
> I would be willing to take a job (1) even if I had to take training in any field, (2) even if I had to take work in a good new field, (3) if I had to take training in my own

field; I would rather not work at this time. Reply, coded high (III-18).

The Maternal Role Variable

What do you think the ideal number of children would be for a family in circumstances similar to yours? Reply, three or more (IV-28).

Mothers should be encouraged, permitted to stay home with children, encouraged or helped to take a job. Scored if coded high (IV-42).

If there were a good way to have someone else take care of your children, would you still prefer to take care of them yourself? Reply, affirmative (IV-51).

A composite of four questions dealing with respondent's report on the way she thinks her children feel about whether she should remain home or take a job. Scored if coded high (IV-56).

Feelings of helplessness in a mother-child situation, derived from a projective test (I-48).

The Importance-of-Money Variable

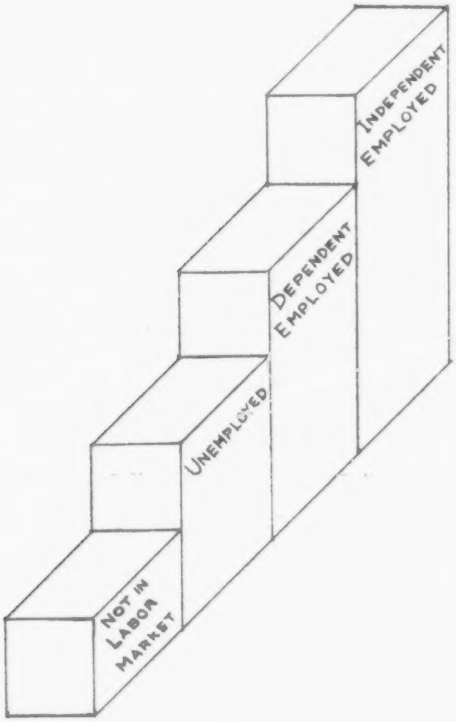
The more money a person earns the more her children's friends will respect her children. Reply, true (III-49).

The more money a person earns the better the family can get along with one another. Reply, true (III-45).

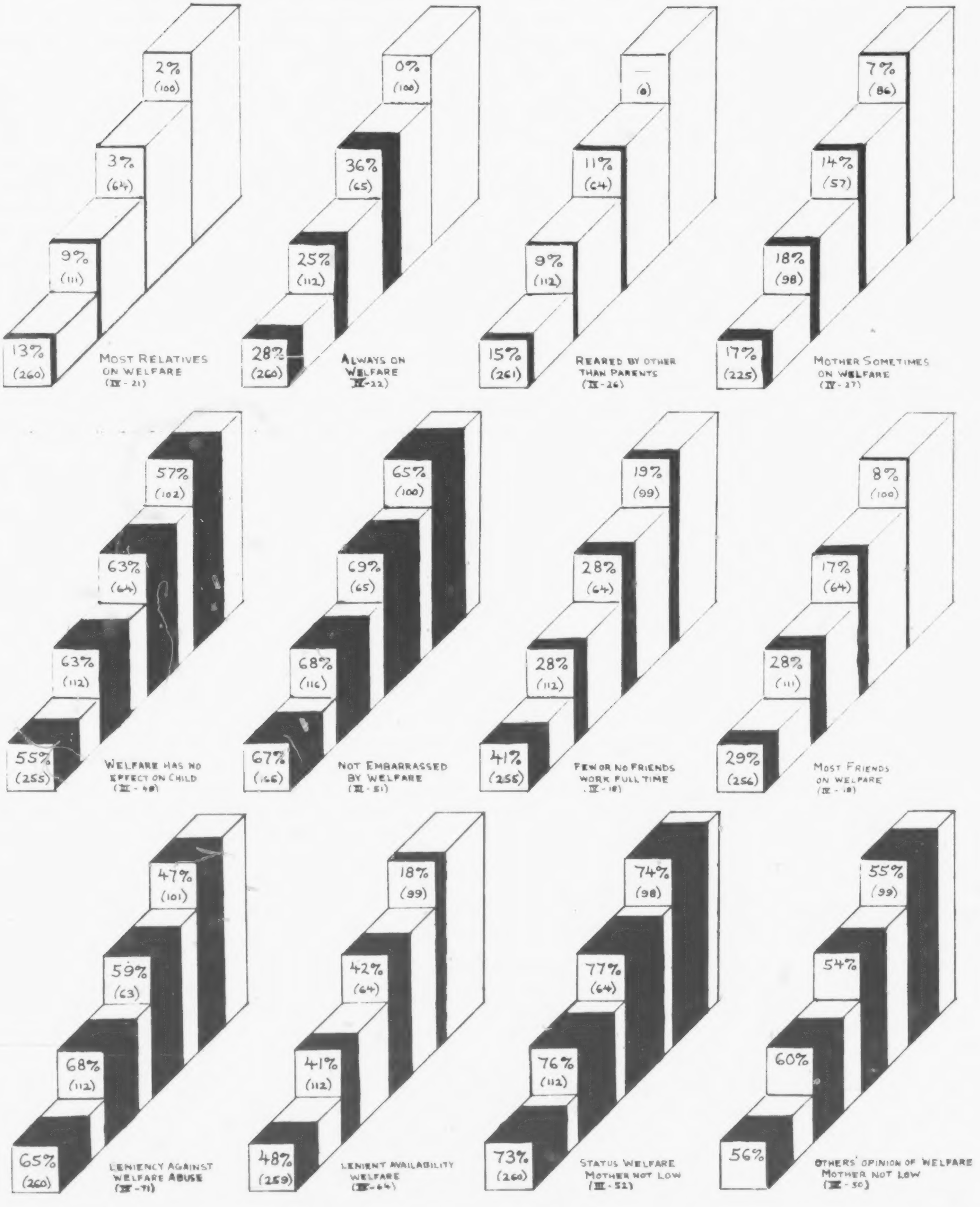
The more money a person earns the more her children will respect her. Reply, agree and strongly agree (III-44).

The more money a person has the better her social relations will be. Reply, true (III-63).

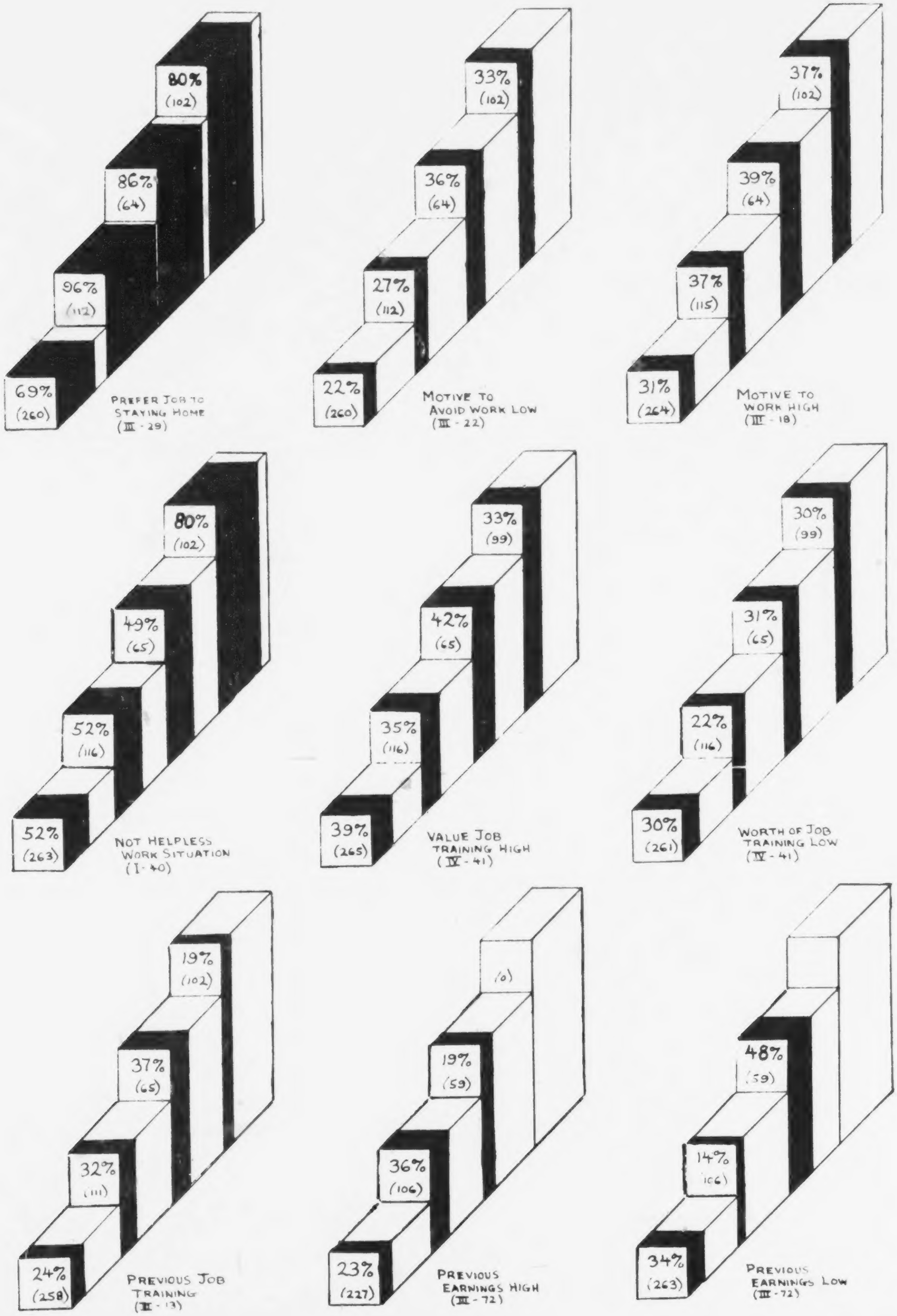
Following are graphic representations of the distributions of various characteristics among women on different steps (in various relations to the labor market). Below is the model used.


NOT IN LABOR MARKET
UNEMPLOYED
DEPENDENT EMPLOYED
INDEPENDENT EMPLOYED

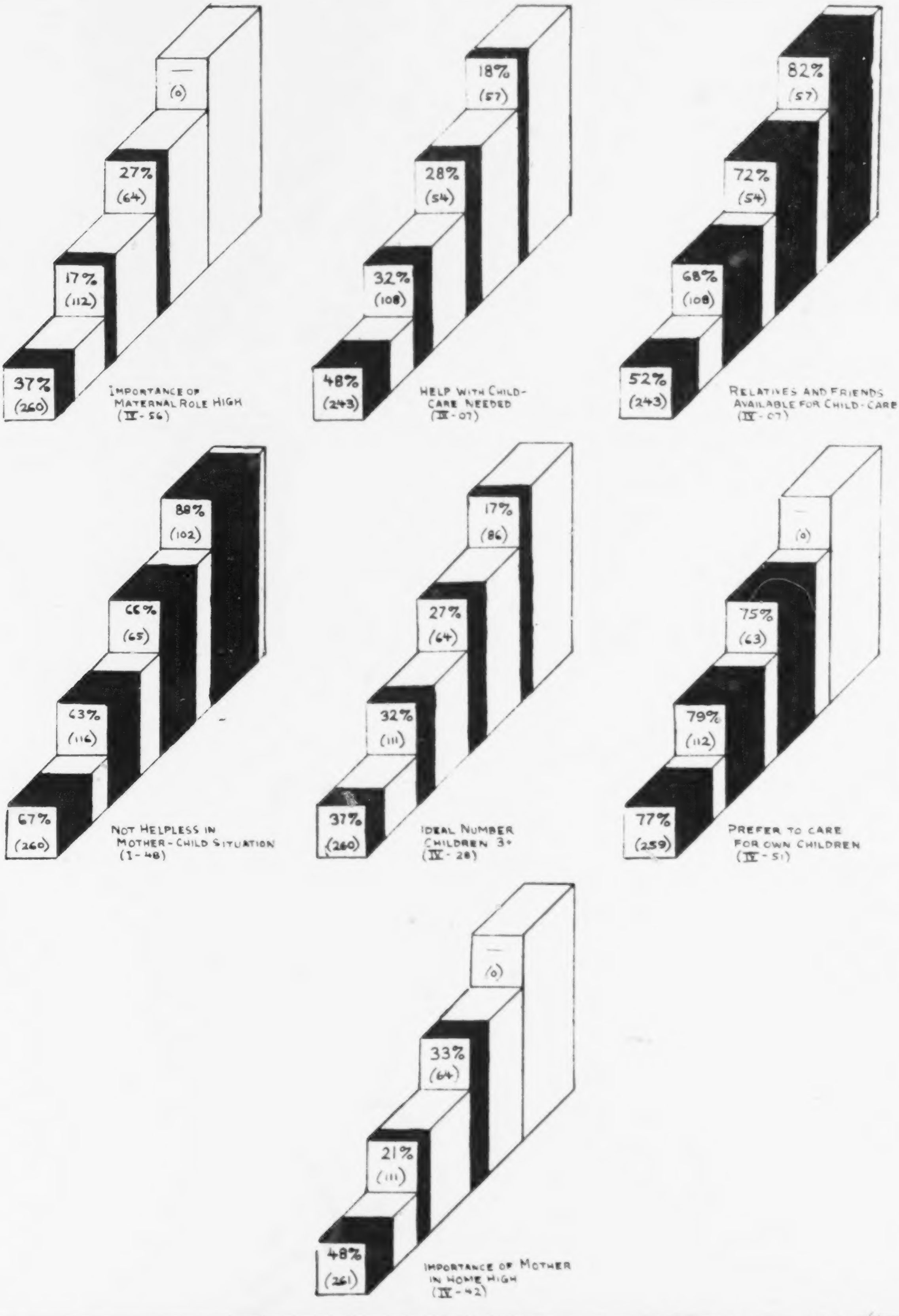
STATUS WORLD VARIABLES FIGURE VII-2



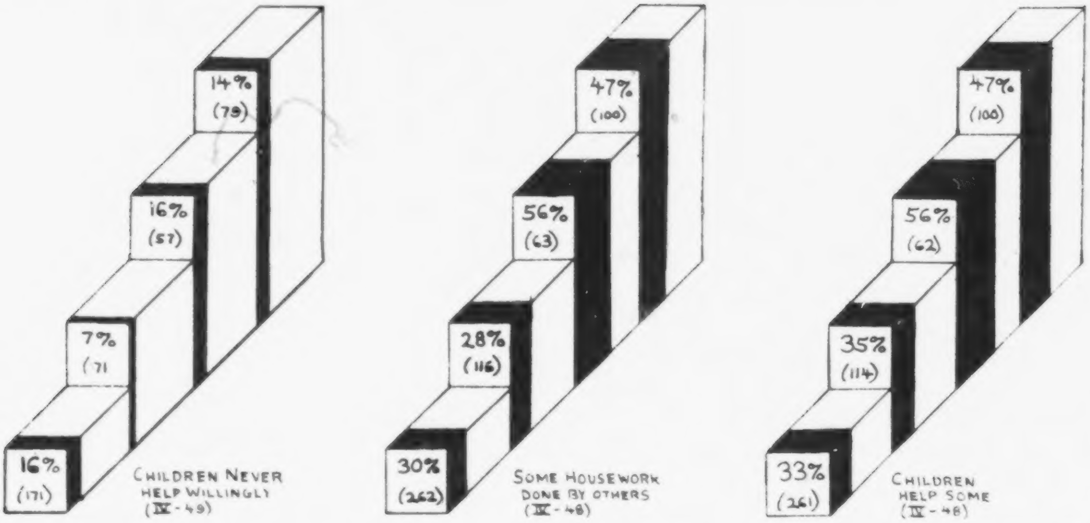
WORKER ROLE VARIABLES FIGURE VII-3



CHILD-CARE AND MATERNAL ROLE VARIABLES FIGURE VII-4



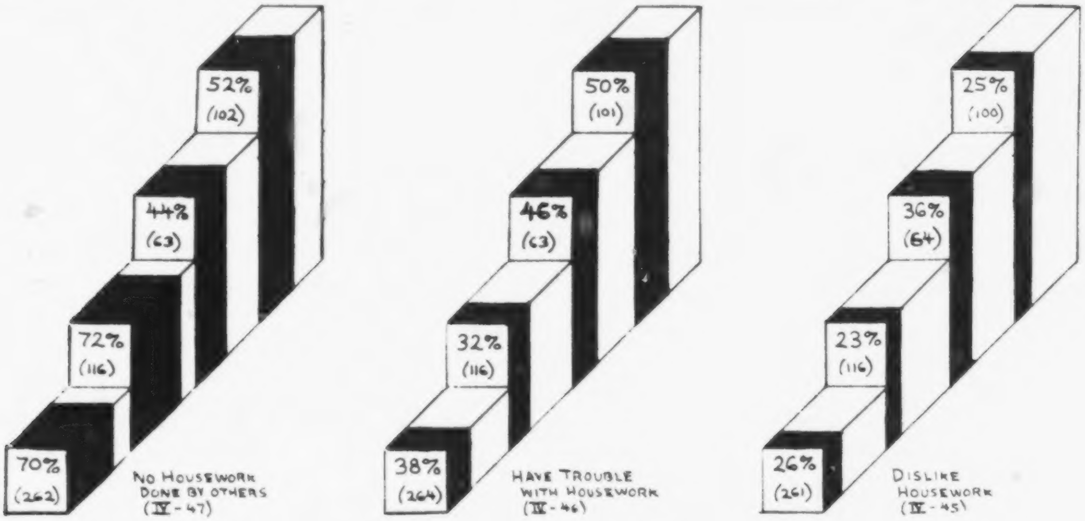
HOUSEKEEPING VARIABLES FIGURE VII-5



CHILDREN NEVER HELP WILLINGLY (IV-49)

SOME HOUSEWORK DONE BY OTHERS (IV-48)

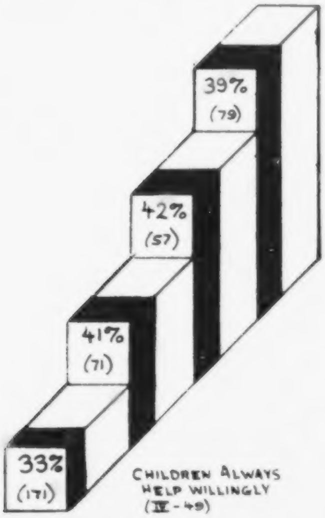
CHILDREN HELP SOME (IV-48)



NO HOUSEWORK DONE BY OTHERS (IV-47)

HAVE TROUBLE WITH HOUSEWORK (IV-46)

DISLIKE HOUSEWORK (IV-45)



CHILDREN ALWAYS HELP WILLINGLY (IV-49)

FIGURE VII-6

CASH NEXUS VARIABLES

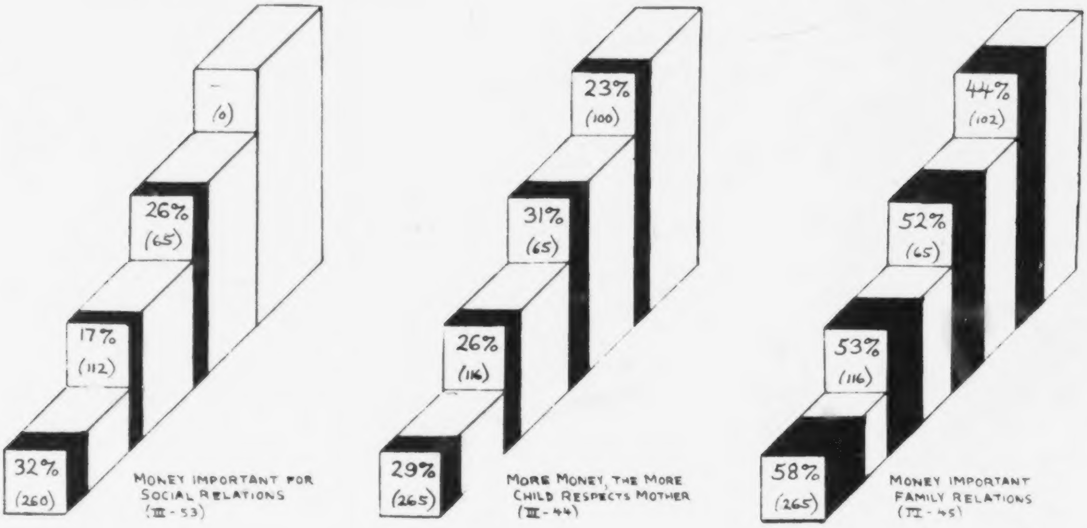
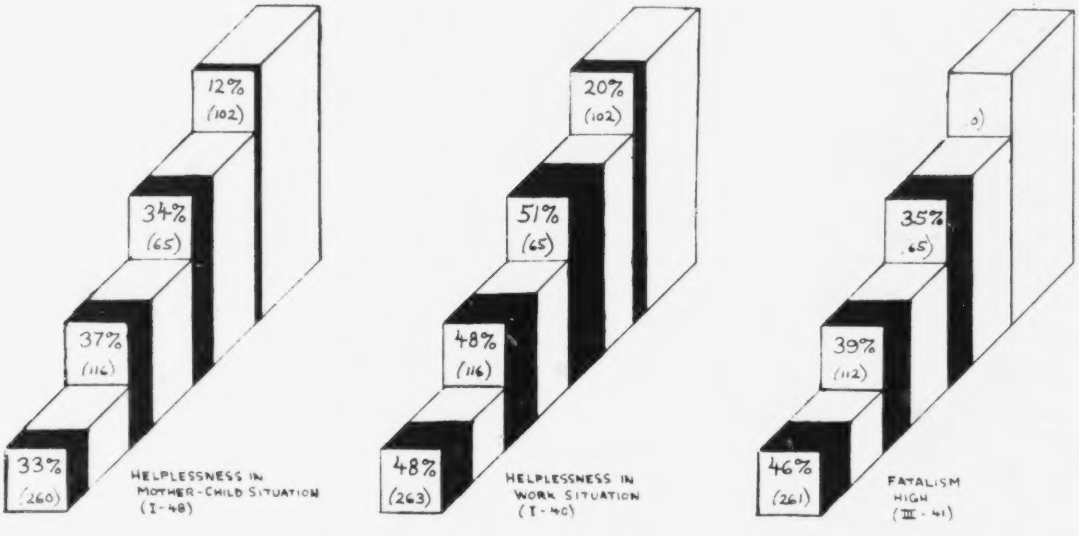


FIGURE VII-7

DEPRESSANT VARIABLES



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CHAPTER VIII

CONSUMPTION PATTERNS AND LIFE STYLE

The Interrelation of Family and Economy

Alternate Links Between Family and Economy

Households provide labor to the economy in exchange for goods and services from the economy. These two functions are sex linked by tradition. Typically, the male head of household provides the labor while his spouse manages the family's consumption and cares for the children. The consumption management function is, in some cultures, easily assumed by the male. The female may enter the labor force when she has no small children or when she delegates responsibility for their care to a servant, relative, older sibling or to an institution, such as a day care center. Child abandonment during the mother's working hours is disapproved but not unknown in our society. The husband may assume responsibility for child care to enable his wife to work when he is incapacitated or otherwise unemployed or when they work different shifts. The working and welfare populations in this study are matrifocal--they have no husbands (1).

In higher income groups, some women, heads of household, persist in a traditional childrearing and consumption managing role funded by independent family and business income, insurance benefits, alimony, social security or gifts from relatives. Lower income women are maintained by the members of their extended family, by gifts from relatives or friends or turn to government welfare assistance or private charity. Each of these sources of income draws her into a variant of the patrimonial relation and the traditional life style described in Chapter VI.

The husbandless mother entering the labor force is attempting to be both provider and home manager. A traditional service occupation permits her to continue an essentially traditional life style. Factory work, on the other hand, may draw her into a modernizing life style. In either event,

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[1] Nearly ten percent of white and nearly 25 percent of non-white families in the United States have no male head of household. In 1962, 25 percent of all families with incomes under $3,000 were female-headed. In fact, their having incomes under $3,000 is not unrelated to their being female-headed.

Of single parent households, female-headed families not only have lower earning power than male-headed households but are influenced by the peculiar occupational norms which women encounter. Males and females in our culture tend to have divergent career development patterns and to have different kinds of jobs available to them.

her income becomes contingent upon time spent at the work site and the maintenance of work-occasioned social relations as well as adequate performance of tasks. The husbandless mother in the world of exchange readjusts her household more severely than does her patrimonially supported sister Time and energy are diverted from her household. Her work-occasioned relationships support interests in wider social participation which may, in turn, alienate her from homemaking. This readjustment is less severe for the woman whose work income allows her to exploit auxiliary domestic services, to engage a cleaning woman or to indulge in ready-to-eat foods.

Working, or economic provision through exchange relations, and welfare, or patrimonial maintenance through benefits, produce distinct styles of life. The contrast in life styles is rooted in the contrasting types of relations to resources and the distinct nets of social relations created around the different relations to resources.

The household income/expenditure budget records the flow of those resources that have a cash proxy. The income record reflects the social relations into which the family enters to produce or gain access to resources. The expenditure record attests to social relations involved in consuming resources. The social relations, along with the cultural orientations accompanying them, define life styles. Chapter VI examined family life style as mirrored in the income budget. This chapter examines working and welfare family life styles through the mirror of their expenditure budgets. The next section identifies some typical expenditure patterns and the social relations indicated by them. A type of expenditure reveals the fact of a social involvement. The level of expenditure tells the intensity of that involvement or the standard of living. The level of expenditure of a family varies in its implication according to the number of the family. The succeeding section discusses comparative per capita expenditures. Life does not begin with the relation revealed by the expenditures. These relations themselves evolve from situational or cultural factors. The impact of such factors on expenditure patterns are examined in the next major section. Within a fixed budget, increasing commitment to one item implies decreasing investment in another. The discussion then turns to a few factors which influence the setting of priorities among such central expenditure items as housing, food and clothing. The magnitude of all of these expenditures is, of course, dependent on the level of income. In Chapter VI, we looked at some social and cultural factors influencing level of income. The need for specific resources or for the social relations which accompany them is itself a factor affecting the decision to earn. The closing section of the chapter notes a few points at which expenditure patterns influence the likelihood of working among welfare mothers. The spirit of this chapter owes much to Frederic Le Play and his studies of household budgets of European workers.

Expenditure Patterns and Life Styles

It will be recalled that the working mothers selected for interview had roughly the same income levels as did the welfare mothers. Mean total family income for a month for welfare mothers was $332.00 in 1969 and $394.50 in 1970 and the expenditures were $310 and $370.70 respectively. For the working mothers, the income means were $396.90 in 1969 and $392.70 in 1970 and the expenditure were $387.10 and $375.50 respectively. The welfare and working mothers contrasted, of course, in the composition of their incomes. Their expenditure patterns also show contrasts.

The expenditure categories will be the traditional ones of rent, clothing, food and so forth. These categories specify the good or service purchased. The categories are organized for presentation in this chapter with reference to the nature of the social relations involved in them. Shelter or housing costs generally define a standard of living by setting conditions for the family as a unit. The costs are an index both of the comfort of the family as a whole and of its position in the community. The category of provisions designates costs for individual members of the family. The items listed under "external relations" seem to rise or fall in proportion to the involvement of members of the family in social and in work contacts. School expenses involve the family with the educational bureaucracy. Debts may reflect the engagement in any of the above relations or activities but with their cost deferred to some future time. Technically speaking, savings and insurance are parts of the income which are not expended at the moment The social relations indicated by each category are not mutually exclusive The provision of food implies concern with the internal life of the family as well as care for the individual. Food costs may also be incurred in developing external social relations, in offering hospitality.

Table VIII-1 shows the proportions of welfare and working mothers who reported any expenditure at all in the respective categories (2). The figures refer to expenditures in the month prior to the interviews. The welfare mothers were interviewed in the summers of 1969 and 1970, and the working mothers were interviewed in February 1970 (the "1969" figure) and in the summer of 1970.

Some expenditure for rent appears in almost every return (3). Welfare mothers are more likely to pay directly for heat and electricity than are working mothers. For the latter, who live in projects, these expenses may more often be included in the rental. Expenses for supplies/maintenance, reported by about half of the mothers, cover purchase of furniture, drapes, rugs and appliances such as washing machines and radios as well as home repair and improvement costs. With increasing overall expenditure from 1969 to 1970, this became a more frequently reported category for both welfare and working mothers.

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[2] See Appendix B, questionnaire items II-32 through II-67 for a specification of expenditures included in each of these more general categories. The identification numbers are rent (II-32), heat/electricity (II-43), supplies/maintenance (II-45), food (II-36), clothing (II-39), telephone (II-41), grooming/recreation (II-52), gifts (II-55), transportation (II-49), school (II-57), debts (II-53), other (II-59), savings (II-64) and insurance (II-66).

[3] None of the families in the study population were homeowners. That less than 100 percent report paying rent may indicate only that a rent payment was not remitted during the month prior to the interview. The proportion reporting remittances may, in fact, be a bit high. Some interviewees may have replied in terms of what they usually pay or are obliged to pay.

TABLE VIII-1

PROPORTION OF WELFARE AND WORKING MOTHERS
REPORTING EXPENDITURES OF VARIOUS TYPES
(in percents)

EXPENDITURES	WELFARE MOTHERS 1969 (446)	WELFARE MOTHERS 1970 (372)	WORKING MOTHERS 1969 (102)	WORKING MOTHERS 1970 (85)
Shelter				
Rent	96	99	98	96
Heat/Electricity	73	76	47	42
Supplies/Maintenance	45	58	40	52
Provisions				
Food	97	100	100	100
Clothing	91	98	95	96
Medical Expenses	21	16	82	69
External Relations				
Telephone	55	70	89	88
Grooming/Recreation	68	82	83	91
Gifts	30	44	67	64
Transportation	51	69	89	88
School	27	53	54	38
Debts	32	31	54	46
Other	15	15	19	23
Savings	3	5	24	19
Insurance	5	23	43	54

Under provisions, nearly all respondents brought food and clothing but the working mothers were more exposed to medical costs. The welfare system absorbs many of these costs for its clients. In both years, working mothers were more likely to expend in all categories reflecting external relations than were welfare mothers. The greater involvement of working mothers in life outside the home will be a persistent finding in this chapter as it was in Chapter VI. Notable, however, is the increase in the proportion of welfare mothers with expenses for telephone, recreation, gifts and transportation between 1969 and 1970. This is evidence of an impending shift from the traditional-patrimonial life style focused within the family to the market-exchange-modernizing life style characterized by broader community participation.

The increased proportion of welfare mothers reporting school expenses in 1970 may reflect their children moving from subvented day care or home care to kindergarten or first grade in public schools as well as to their increased ability to expend for schools. Also, a few of the 1970 interviews were conducted early enough in the summer to have included some end of semester expenses. The drop over the year in school expenses among the working mothers results, almost entirely, from the "1969" interviews having been conducted in mid-school year while the 1970 data refer to summer.

The higher debt level of working households reflects their greater social and economic activity in general. They are more likely to be granted credit and so are more exposed to debt. Also, they are more likely to report savings and insurance. In an exchange, in contrast to a patrimonial, relation, future security tends to be more an individual than a social matter. Debts imply present consumption of future earnings and involvement in systematically rational disbursement plans. Savings and insurance, on the contrary, involve the deferment of current income to future use but, like credit, involve the mother in rational economic planning. This rational planning is more characteristic of the working than of the welfare mothers despite the fact that the market processes which control working income are more erratic and uncertain than the bureaucratic processes which control welfare income. It is almost as if the planning of the working mother is her device for increasing the level of certainty in her situation. This is not to say that rational planning is absent from the welfare home. Study interviewers were consistently impressed by the clear idea which welfare mothers have of current budgetary allocations and of the workings of the bureaucratic net and its complex regulations. They are less likely, however, to do future economic planning. In sum, the welfare mothers' expenditure patterns show a life style organized around the home and family and relative lack of rational economic planning beyond the present. Working mothers are spending more to be involved in a broader community and do more rational planning for their economic future.

Table VIII-1 provides a binary analysis based on expenditures. The population is classified as having either expended or not expended in each category. A more sensitive measure of the intensity of consumption, and the life style element indicated, is given by the dollar amounts expended in each category. The mean dollar expenditures in the various categories will be the basis of the ensuing analysis (4).

Working mothers tend, on the average, to have completed more years of school than welfare mothers. Since schooling correlates highly with style of life, dollar budgetary comparisons will be made for relatively homogeneous educational categories. Table VIII-2 compares the average expenditures of welfare with those of working mothers at three educational levels (II-72).

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[4] When roughly half of the population reports no expenditure in a category, the mean is misleading. In these cases, the distributions are bimodal with one mode at zero expenditure. For example, the distribution of school expenditures for welfare households in 1969 is bimodal. The first mode contains the 73 percent who had no school expenditures. The second mode falls somewhere among the 27 percent reporting such expenses.

TABLE VIII-2*

FAMILY EXPENDITURE BUDGETS FOR WELFARE AND WORKING MOTHERS AT THREE EDUCATIONAL LEVELS IN JUNE 1970 (mean dollars)**

EXPENDITURES	WELFARE MOTHERS			WORKING MOTHERS		
	8th Grade or less (144)	9th-11th Grades (107)	High School Graduate+ (82)	8th Grade or less (10)	9th-11th Grades (33)	High School Graduate+ (41)
Shelter						
Rent	76.08	79.7	76.85	53.6	71.03	60.9
Heat/Electricity	20.42	18.8	20.13	3.7	5.72	8.29
Supplies/Maintenance	25.39	20.23	20.64	13.0	12.20	20.43
Provisions						
Food	116.64	115.72	109.6	80.8	115.78	109.48
Clothing	48.41	49.7	57.29	31.5	51.89	53.43
Medical Expenses	3.78	4.35	4.32	20.6	20.69	19.34
External Relations						
Telephone	10.71	11.57	15.15	11.7	11.09	12.58
Grooming/Recreation	8.74	13.63	17.6	14.3	18.06	15.73
Gifts	5.17	5.61	7.9	5.2	11.21	16.07
Transportation	9.6	13.01	15.53	27.5	21.78	27.65
School Expenses	7.07	7.74	7.8	3.7	5.12	7
Debts	11.47	10.52	8.19	7.5	19.75	16.31
Other Expenses	3.4	5.66	8.36	4.8	6.06	11.75
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	358.63	369.85	384.64	275	387.03	392.7
Savings	2.09	4.01	3.74	1	8.12	10.17
Insurance	3.41	3.91	4.17	11.7	6.27	8.9

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*Each number is a mean expenditure, in dollars, for that category. The numbers of cases for computing each mean varied slightly around the figure given in parentheses at the top of each column due to scattered cases of non-response for specific budget lines. The total expenditure lines, which are themselves means, do not quite equal the sum of the separate expense categories because of the slight variation in the number of respondents on each of the separate lines. For the same reason, the income totals given in the tables in Chapter VI and totals of expenditures, plus savings and insurance, given in this chapter differ slightly. In addition, income and expenditure figures for a particular month may not balance since income may be deferred or expenses drawn from the previous month's savings Some inaccuracy was introduced by the data collection method which relied on interviewee recall rather than written records. Problems of method with respect to the data are discussed in Appendix A.

**Standard deviations are omitted for clarity of presentation. The numbers of decimal points in the means varies since the program did not carry out computations where, because of the small number of cases, the figures would suggest a fallacious exactitude.

The welfare population, in each educational group, expends more, in absolute terms, on rent, electricity and home improvements than does the working population (5). In the lowest educational group, welfare families also spend more on food and clothing. However, with only ten cases, the figure for working mothers with no high school education may not be reliable. All of these internal home management expenses emphasize the extent to which welfare family resources are invested in the home. The relatively higher consumption of electricity by welfare families is especially revealing of their home centeredness. During daylight hours, working family homes are darkened, but in welfare homes, the lights, the television and the laundry machines are in use.

Working families, for their part, expend more than welfare families for medical assistance, an item covered by welfare agencies for their clients. Transportation, a work incurred expense, and gifts, incurred in the development of friendship and family relations, are higher for working than for welfare mothers. Working mothers, at all educational levels, carry more insurance than do welfare mothers. Perhaps this is due, in part, to compulsory insurance payments at their place of work. Among welfare mothers, education has no influence on total expenditures. This is consistent with the earlier finding that education does not influence total income since income level in the patrimonial system is determined by need rather than by performance. Also consistent with the income finding in Chapter VI is the fact that total expenditures of working mothers rise with the acquisition of a high school education but further higher education has little impact.

Education does affect some priorities in expenditure patterns even if not the overall level of expenditures. Working mothers with less than high school graduation spend more than welfare mothers of the same educational level on recreation and grooming, again an expense reflecting concern with social relations. High school educated working mothers have more debts than the welfare mothers with the same education.

Working mothers with less than a high school education are certainly the most impoverished members of the study populations. They have the lowest total income, the poorest housing, least food and clothing and negligible savings. Life in their homes must be especially dreary. They spend 70 percent as much on rent as do their welfare sisters of the same educational level, 69 percent as much on food, 65 percent as much on clothing, 18 percent as much on electricity and 51 percent as much on household improvements. On the other hand, these poorly educated working mothers spend 546 percent as much on medical expenses and 286 percent as much on transportation as do their welfare sisters with the same education. One wonders why they do not seek welfare assistance. Their commitment to a life style including work must be very strong.

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[5] A family earning $20,000 a year would expend over $100 a month on electricity if it spent at the average welfare family's rate.

The Family Budget and the Individual Consumer

We have been discussing household budgets as if all households were equivalent. This followed from our concern with patterns of rather than levels of expenditure. While the basic mold of a life style is shaped by the array of social relations entered into in the process of consuming resources, the intensity of those relations can determine the depth of involvement of a family in a life style. Standard of living is one way of describing the intensity of involvement (6).

The comparative economic pressure of families cannot be assessed from the gross patterns of expenditure without taking into account the diverse needs and levels of need that these funds must meet. The adequacy of a budget depends on the number of people to be provided for. Though working and welfare family total expenditures are about the same, welfare families tend to be somewhat larger than working families. A comparison of per capita expenditures, based on the number of persons in the household (I-66), is a truer index of their relative poverty (7). Table VIII-3 compares per capita expenditures in various categories for welfare and working families in the summer of 1970.

The working family has a larger per capita total expenditure. How does it allocate its advantage? Welfare and working families spend about the same per capita amount on shelter and school expenses. Welfare families' larger gross income is, then, merely a result of their larger size. Working families have a greater per capita expenditure both for provisions and for external relations. Apparently, they choose not to allocate the excess they enjoy over the welfare family to housing but to use it for provisions and to support external social relations. The more individualistic and externalized life style of the working family is reflected here. The significance of the

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[6] A family may be either rich or poor with either a life style built around patrimonial or market exchange relations. Based on standard of living, there is a ranking system within each life style. Just as the wealthy second generation coupon-clipping life differs from the life of the successful and active captain of industry, so, at the other extreme, does the life of the impoverished welfare mother differ from that of the impoverished working mother. The musings in the above paragraph about the uneducated working mother's tenacity for her style already hinted at this.

[7] A per capita expenditure as an indicator of standard of living or adequacy of a budget involves several simplifying assumptions. The arithmetic calculation of dividing the total family expenditure on each line by the number of individuals in the household treats each individual as if he exerted an identical demand on the budget. Of course, it costs more to feed older than younger children so that a food budget should be judged in the light of the ages as well as the number of individuals. School expenses accrue only from members of families of school age. Families, of course, differ in their number of school age dependents. A more revealing expression would have been a measure of school expenses per school age child. Yet, in this as in all the other cases, the total number of individuals in the household was taken as the general divisor.

TABLE VIII-3

MEAN PER CAPITA EXPENDITURES FOR
WELFARE AND WORKING HOUSEHOLDS IN 1970
(in dollars)*

EXPENDITURES	WELFARE (372)	WORKING (85)
Shelter		
Rent	18.92	21.39
Heat/Electricity	4.38	1.90
Supplies/Maintenance	5.11	5.27
Provisions		
Food	24.42	33.58
Clothing	11.25	15.89
Medical Expenses	.99	6.50
External Relations		
Telephone	2.95	4.05
Grooming/Recreation	3.00	5.15
Gifts	1.38	4.00
Transportation	2.80	8.22
School	1.63	1.84
Debts	2.31	4.81
Other	1.17	2.52
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	82.86	118.96
Savings	.73	2.64
Insurance	.89	2.64

*Standard deviations omitted to simplify presentatio

per capita financial advantage of the working family must be evaluated in terms of their life style. If the welfare life style does not require the maintenance of broader social relations, relatively speaking, they would not need that additional income. The additional income is needed, and there would be incentive to leave welfare, only if that life style holds some attraction--as it seems to for working mothers.

A mean per capita figure quickly summarizes a distribution of households with varying expenditures and varying size. We might better have compared expenditures of welfare and working families of varying sizes. The way in which family size affects expenditure patterns is buried in the arithmetical computation. Size of family is not, in itself, a variable affecting life style. The way families adapt to size is a function of their life styles. At the same time, the family size is an expression of life style. The mother who has many children must be strongly committed to a family centered role. Table VIII-4 compares working and welfare budgets in two and four person households (I-66). The eight person welfare household is shown for comparison.

TABLE VIII-4

EXPENDITURE BUDGETS OF TWO AND FOUR PERSON WELFARE AND WORKING AND EIGHT PERSON WELFARE HOUSEHOLDS IN 1970 (in dollars)

EXPENDITURES	NUMBER OF PERSONS IN HOUSEHOLD				
	TWO		FOUR		EIGHT
	WELFARE (46)	WORKING (26)	WELFARE (84)	WORKING (21)	WELFARE (23)
Shelter					
Rent	70.84	58.15	82.40	66.71	72.17
Heat/Electricity	15.76	3.08	18.14	9.81	28.74
Supplies/Maintenance	18.54	11.08	23.21	14.10	18.48
Provisions					
Food	67.45	83.96	102.56	93.71	143.73
Clothing	34.32	38.11	47.89	52.52	70.95
Medical Expenses	3.76	18.62	3.00	15.38	4.91
External Relations					
Telephone	12.87	11.54	11.36	14.00	10.96
Grooming/Recreation	11.87	11.42	11.08	13.57	9.91
Gifts	6.54	11.08	6.32	17.71	6.57
Transportation	10.61	22.31	11.89	22.71	17.69
School	5.17	4.92	7.00	5.71	8.04
Debts	8.21	6.15	8.24	18.14	12.95
Other	2.24	4.12	6.33	14.81	6.91
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	286.85	287.28	347.28	360.52	426.52
Savings	2.80	5.23	3.71	6.14	5.26
Insurance	2.48	7.46	3.01	4.04	2.35

Both two and four person welfare families dedicate more to shelter than do working families of comparable size (8). Nevertheless, the welfare

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[8] Table VIII-3 showed that welfare families pay a lower per capita rent. Why does this difference not appear in Table VIII-4? The answer is that while few working households have more than five or six members, a number of welfare families have nine, ten or more. These very large establishments spend little more on rent than the smaller ones and so have a very low per capita rental

family may obtain inferior shelter since, unlike the working households, they rent on the free market. The two person working family is better provisioned but four person welfare households expend more on food. Both of these findings reconfirm the hypothesis that the welfare family tends to be more family oriented. Working families of both sizes expend more on gifts and transportation than do welfare families. The amounts for telephone and grooming, however, seem to be independent of size of family. Apparently, the household budget for these items is relatively stable. As the family becomes larger, each makes fewer telephone calls and expends less on recreation.

Under the pressure of growth, the welfare family shifts more of its resources into food than does the working family. The latter retains a tighter food budget while engaging in social gift giving and absorbing the costs of transportation. The welfare family is more home oriented and the working family more concerned with wider social circles.

Turning again from a comparison of allocative patterns to the measure of living standard, we find that the increase in shelter and food costs is not proportionate to the increase in size between a two and four person household. The very large welfare family of eight persons, having four times the number to house and feed as the two person family, has practically the same expense for shelter and only about twice the expense for provisions. Large welfare families must be more crowded, eat more poorly, dress more shabbily and venture less into relations outside the home. These families typify the welfare pattern of life turned inward.

That the large welfare family is most impoverished becomes apparent from a comparison of total expenditures for increasingly larger households. Graph VIII-1 compares the total expenditures of welfare and working families of different sizes.

The curve for welfare households rises to a plateau at the five or six person household. Beyond an eight person household the curve rises again probably to plateau at the largest families. The curve for working households attains a plateau at three or four persons and then continues its rise. Level of expenditure is not a straight line function of the number in the household as it would be were the number itself the relevant variable. This is almost the case for the welfare component of income. The expenditures are a function of economic relations established by families of various sizes and of the way they organize themselves internally. As the welfare family adds additional members, the tendency is to stretch the same budget. At some point, the decrease in per capita resources presses them to add earned income--either by having the mother or children work part time or by receiving earnings of another adult member of the household. This allows expenditures to rise again but, at some level, this adaptation is inadequate as no more earning capacity may remain.

The working household adapts by restructuring itself at an earlier stage than does the welfare household. This reflects its more modern

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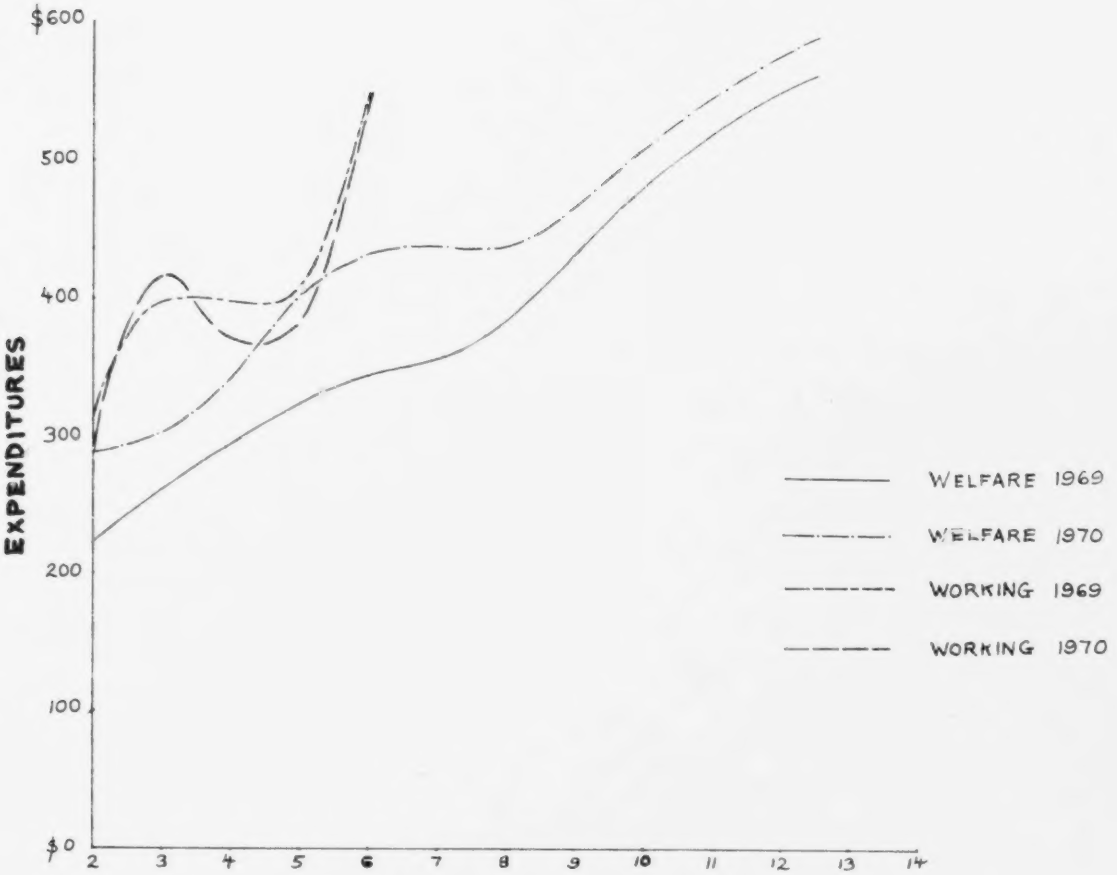
expenditure. The lower per capita rent of very large welfare families depresses the overall per capita mean.

GRAPH VIII-1

TOTAL EXPENDITURES OF WELFARE AND WORKING HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF PERSONS IN THE HOUSEHOLD IN 1969 AND 1970



character, its ability to arrange a more rational division of labor. As the traditional family grows, it has a tendency to remain, structurally, an enlarged version of what it was prior to the build-up forces toward reorganization. The poor working household with more than six or seven persons may cease to be a working household and may become a welfare household. Large working households simply cannot exist at the income levels obtainable here. The survival of the welfare household of more than fourteen or fifteen souls may also become tenuous. With no way of rearranging its relation to the economy, it probably fractionates into two or more smaller residential units. In a family that large, the mother is probably not the only adult who can offer a nucleus for a residential unit.

Overall economic pressure is thus felt differentially by families according to their relation to the economy and the way they organize themselves with respect to the factor of size. The lowest standards of living are probably found in those families in transition between forms of organization--such as the welfare family of six or seven persons. The shift from work to welfare or from welfare to work is a change in pattern of expenditure, a life style change, rather than a change in standard of living. It may, however, be precipitated by a change in standard of living such as when the size of the family at a given income level makes a working life style no longer viable.

The two polar life style models, as reflected in budgetary patterns, are themselves influenced by conditions external and internal to the family. Size of family is an indicator of but one internal condition. Education may shape life style through its influence in broadening social horizons. The working/welfare distinction, while correlated both with family size and education, is the overriding determinant of life style. The next section will examine some other social influences on the expenditure patterns and the life styles they indicate.

Situational and Cultural Effects on Expenditure Patterns

In this section, the influence of two situational exigencies on budgetary patterns will be examined. The first is stage in the family life cycle as indicated by whether or not the family has preschool children. The second is a basic cultural orientation and social position, as indicated by race. The first is correlated with probability of working or being on welfare, but the second is not.

The presence of small children is more reflective of a stage in the life cycle than of a permanent life style commitment. Table VIII-5 presents the average expense budgets for welfare and working matrifocal families according to whether they have preschool children (I-63).

Preschoolers have little impact on the life styles of working or welfare families. In both populations, total expenditures are slightly lower for families with small children but this difference is not statistically significant. Among welfare families, expenditures for provisions (food and clothing) and for telephone increase as the family ages. Among working

TABLE VIII-5

EXPENDITURE BUDGETS OF WELFARE AND WORKING FAMILIES ACCORDING TO WHETHER THEY HAVE PRESCHOOL CHILDREN IN 1970
(mean dollars)+

EXPENDITURES	WELFARE MOTHERS			WORKING MOTHERS		
	Have Children Under Six (273)	No Children Under Six (97)	p	Have Children Under Six (33)	No Children Under Six (52)	p
Shelter						
Rent	78.16	77.64	n.s.	59.57	66.19	n.s.
Heat/Electricity	19.09	21.4	n.s.	7.39	6.36	n.s.
Supplies/Maintenance	22.98	19.42	n.s.	15.93	17.07	n.s.
Provisions						
Food	110.61	125.96	**	100.03	113.32	n.s.
Clothing	49.64	55.36	n.s.	54.09	47.92	*
Medical Expenses	4.17	4.18	n.s.	17.18	21.82	n.s.
External Relations						
Telephone	11.54	13.78	*	10.12	13.5	*
Grooming/Recreation	12.75	13.89	n.s.	13.24	18.25	*
Gifts	6.03	5.56	n.s.	12	13.19	n.s.
Transportation	12.97	11.37	n.s.	27.54	23.48	n.s.
School	6.48	10.62	***	6.57	5.32	n.s.
Debts	10.76	9.28	n.s.	15.6	18.96	n.s.
Other	6.54	2.94	***	9.96	7.73	n.s.
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	364.39	387.36	n.s.	362.18	383.9	n.s.
Savings	3.14	3.06	n.s.	11.09	6.34	n.s.
Insurance	3.64	4.39	n.s.	6.81	8.94	n.s.

+Standard deviations omitted for clarity of presentation.

Based on t-test (two tailed)
p=n.s. (difference is not statistically significant)
$p < .10$ (*)
$p < .05$ (**)
$p < .01$ (***)

families, the cost of clothing, telephone and grooming increases when children enter school. Food costs increase but not statistically significantly. In both types of families, costs related to individual care rise a bit. That the welfare families expend more on food while the working families spend more on recreation when the children become older is consistent with their life style difference. The general conclusion seems to be that the presence of small children retards the working family a bit from realizing its tendency toward wider community involvement. On the whole, though, stage in the family life cycle has less influence on expenditure patterns than does the distinction between working and welfare status. The style of relating to the economy, patrimonially or through the market exchanges, is more significant than any changes which accompany family aging. Basic life style overrides situational exigencies--even so significant a one as stage in the family life cycle. Family budget patterns seem quite inflexible.

Race, in this study, is a socio-cultural indicator. Being black means an increased probability of having been born in the South and being Puerto Rican coincides with being Catholic as well as being a new immigrant. What appear as racial differences in attitudes toward the family may be rooted in these regional and religious differences. Cultural differences between white, black and Puerto Rican families are themselves life style differences. How do these life style differences compare with those rooted in different relations to the economy in their influence on life style as reflected in allocation of expenditures?

Table VIII-6 shows the expenditure budgets of welfare and working mothers according to their race or ethnic group in 1970. The sample of working mothers included too few Puerto Ricans for quantitative analysis.

Negroes, Puerto Ricans and whites on welfare differ little in total expenditures. White working families may have slightly higher total expenditures than Negro working families.

Rent seems to be affected by both race and relation to the economy. The difference of rents paid by welfare and working families of the same race is greater than that between the races in the same economic category. Welfare families pay higher rent than working families irrespective of race. The other shelter costs, electricity and household improvements, are not responsive to race (excepting that working whites invest little in household improvements). The 1969 expense budgets show that whites spent 32.1 percent (N=85, sd=13.4), blacks spent 24.8 percent (N=312, sd=13.5) and Puerto Ricans 24.1 percent (N=41, sd=10.0) of total expenditures on rent (F=9.40, $p < .001$). Black working mothers paid $59.71 for rent while white welfare mothers paid $89.70, the lowest and highest respectively, during the same month.

This differential in rent, with reference both to race and economic relation, deserves closer scrutiny. Might the result be due to the differential influence of family size and, indirectly, to the different number of rooms in the racial and economic categories. Table VIII-7 compares the proportion of blacks and whites in the welfare and working populations having large families (I-68) and a large number of rooms (I-69).

Among welfare recipients, blacks are slightly more likely than whites to have larger households and larger homes though the differences are not statistically significant in either case. Nevertheless, in view of the lower rent, black welfare mothers are probably living in lower quality housing. In the working population, whites pay slightly higher rents but at the same time have slightly larger families and larger homes. What a family pays corresponds better to what it gets in the working than in the welfare environment. In all events, status in the economy is a more significant determinant of housing conditions for blacks than is race. Black welfare mothers have larger families, more rooms and pay more than black working mothers. White welfare mothers pay more than white working mothers without having larger families or larger apartments. White welfare mothers are renting higher quality quarters.

TABLE VIII-6

EXPENDITURE BUDGETS OF WELFARE AND WORKING FAMILIES ACCORDING TO RACE
(mean dollars)+

EXPENDITURES	WELFARE MOTHERS++				WORKING MOTHERS		
	Negro (266)	Puerto Rican (31)	White (70)	p	Negro (59)	White (25)	p
Shelter							
Rent	74.7	78.6	89.7	***	59.71	72.8	n.s.
Heat/Electricity	20.1	22.3	17.0	n.s.	5.62	9.52	n.s.
Supplies/Maintenance	20.4	37.5	20.1	n.s.	19.2	11.2	*
Provisions							
Food	112.8	140.5	112.4	n.s.	106.27	113.76	n.s.
Clothing	55.2	45.4	37.9	***	52.5	47.12	n.s.
Medical Expenses	3.8	2.1	5.9	n.s.	17.38	27	n.s.
External Relations							
Telephone	13.3	8.1	9.0	**	14.22	7.6	***
Grooming/Recreation	14.3	7.0	11.5	n.s.	15.57	18.64	n.s.
Gifts	6.1	3.2	6.8	n.s.	13.13	12.24	n.s.
Transportation	12.7	4.6	14.9	n.s.	20.33	36.32	**
School	8.2	6.0	5.9	**	6.32	3.12	**
Debts	10.4	4.3	10.9	n.s.	13.01	25.12	*
Other	5.5	1.2	7.7	n.s.	10.2	5.12	n.s.
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	372.5	366.9	358.2	n.s.	363.89	408.6	n.s.
Savings	3.8	1.1	3.1	n.s.	9.16	6.16	n.s.
Insurance	4.1	1.2	3.7	n.s.	8.47	7.56	n.s.

+Standard deviations omitted for clarity of presentation. The number of digits following the decimal point is less than two when the "N" upon which the computation was based is too small to justify further digits.

++All differences among the means for the welfare sample were statistically insignificant as tested by the F statistic. The t test compares the Negro and white means.

Based on t test:
p = n.s.
p < .10 (*)
p < .05 (**)
p < .01 (***)

TABLE VIII-7

BLACK AND WHITE WELFARE AND WORKING HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD, NUMBER OF ROOMS AND MONTHLY RENTAL

	WELFARE MOTHERS		WORKING MOTHERS	
	Black	White	Black	White
Rent (Mean)	$74.70	$89.70	$59.71	$72.80
Six or more in household (percent)	30 (311)[a]	23 (87)	10 (71)[c]	17 (29)
Six or more rooms (percent)	39 (311)[b]	30 (87)	6 (71)[d]	31 (29)

a: $x^2=1.43$, df=1, p=n.s. c: $x^2=1.06$, df=1, p=n.s.
b: $x^2=2.37$, df=1, p=n.s. d: $x^2=11.74$, df=1, $p<.001$

Looking back to Table VIII-6, we see that this investment in housing is at the expense of clothing, telephone, recreation--the social relational expenses. White welfare mothers seem more strongly oriented to home and family than do black welfare mothers.

The per capita rental expenditure, by taking into account the size of the family, reflects the quality of housing. The working and welfare populations are compared in this way in Table VIII-3 and Table VIII-4. The unit cost of housing is another way of measuring its quality. Table VIII-8 shows the rent per room paid by blacks and by whites in the working and welfare populations in 1969 (I-69).

TABLE VIII-8

MEAN RENT PER ROOM FOR BLACK AND WHITE WELFARE AND WORKING MOTHERS (1969) (in dollars)

RACE	WELFARE MOTHERS			WORKING MOTHERS		
	M	SD	N	M	SD	N
Black	16.56	30.11	312	14.29	3.7	71
White	19.06	19.06	87	15.97	11.58	29

The rents paid by this population vary within a very small range. Welfare mothers of both races may pay slightly more per room than working mothers. In each labor force category white mothers may pay a bit more than black ones but none of these differences are statistically significant. The quality of housing is quite standardly low for this entire population. The variations in life styles which we are uncovering are not only occurring under relatively homogeneous financial conditions but also in relatively homogeneous physical surroundings.

Returning to Table VIII-6, it appears that the Puerto Rican mothers spend more on food than do the others. This is consistent with their maximal orientation to family but may reflect the larger size of Puerto Rican families. On a gross level, blacks and whites differ little in their food expenditures. A per capita comparison will show how well they eat. Table VIII-9 examines the costs per capita of food for blacks and whites, working and welfare.

TABLE VIII-9

EXPENDITURE PER CAPITA FOR FOOD IN BLACK
AND WHITE WELFARE AND WORKING HOUSEHOLDS (1969)
(in dollars)

RACE	WELFARE HOUSEHOLDS			WORKING HOUSEHOLDS			
	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	
Black	21.77	10.6	312	30.74	12.4	71	t=5.68, $p < .001$
White	23.81	10.0	86	32.28	14.3	29	t=2.92, $p < .01$

The difference between blacks and whites in the cost of feeding an individual is insignificant compared with that between welfare and working households. The gross family figures hide the fact that members of working households eat better than those in welfare households among both races. The social and cultural differences correlated with race are of small influence on food costs compared with the difference related to the contrast between patrimonially based and market based household economies.

Clothing is not only protection against the elements and a way of conforming with norms of modesty, but is also an extension of the self, a way of presenting one's character to society. Table VIII-6 suggests that clothing expenses are affected by race but not by labor force status. Blacks spend more on clothes in both the working and the welfare populations. Table VIII-10 shows per capita expenditures for clothing.

TABLE VIII-10

PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE FOR CLOTHING IN BLACK
AND WHITE WELFARE AND WORKING HOUSEHOLDS (1969)
(in dollars)

RACE	WELFARE HOUSEHOLDS			WORKING HOUSEHOLDS			
	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	
Black	12.03	8.5	310	18.69	12.8	71	t=4.16, $p < .001$
White	7.53	6.6	86	14.11	9.6	29	t=3.39, $p < .001$
	t=5.23, $p < .001$			t=1.93, $.05 < p < .10$			

The gross differences are accentuated when examined on a per capita basis. Reading horizontally, working blacks spend half again as much per capita as do welfare blacks and working whites twice per capita what welfare whites spend on clothing. The working population dresses decidedly better than the welfare population. Reading vertically, in both the welfare and working populations, blacks dress better than whites. This is the first budgetary item we have examined in which there is a clear racial difference. Insofar as dressing is a way of preserving the social front of dignity, this is a more important feature for blacks than for whites.

The earlier findings that the welfare population structures a style of life around the home while the working population looks outward have been reconfirmed. But, the factor of race, or its cultural and social correlates, has been added as another source of difference in life style. Puerto Ricans are most solidly in the dependent patrimonial type of family economy. They spend more on food and home improvements but considerably less on those items which imply a life outside the home. Gifts, debts, savings and transportation are low on their priority. Negroes spend more to dress themselves and whites spend a bit more, though not much more, to house themselves and, if working, whites spend more for travel. Still, the working/welfare distinction is more telling than the racial one. Working members of either race eat better and dress better. The self is better cared for by those who work.

The factors which affect an expenditure pattern, a life style, are relatively deep seated cultural orientations. The changing size of a family, in part, a situational exigency, seems to affect the pattern as a force moving against a resistance. The family tries to hold on to its pattern until the pressure makes it non-viable. Thus, the curve of total expenditure has rises and plateaus. Education,itself a manifestation of a cultural orientation,increases movement toward a working life style. Stage in the family life cycle has but minimal effect. The family weathers its preschool stage with little shift in basic patterns. The effect of race, associated with cultural orientation, is rather specific in impact on eating and dress habits. The basically contrasting social involvements and cultural orientations reflected in the work/welfare dichotomy remain the most important correlates of life style.

Priorities in Expenditure:
The Problem of Trade-Offs

Within a fixed income, a change in any budget line affects other budget lines. External factors which induce a change in a particular expense may not be directly related to a change in other expenses. Other expenses may change in response to internal budgetary priorities due to pressure on the budget as a whole. These priorities are higher level controls and may be established in response to personality, social and cultural influences. We will examine the priorities among housing, food and clothing budget lines. The allocative constraints will be taken into consideration by treating each type of expenditure as a proportion of the total expenditure rather than as an absolute amount. The use of a proportion permits comparison of the priorities of families with different total expenditures (9).

Who Chooses Housing

The selection of a dwelling and of its neighborhood announces the style of life or status of the family in the community. The major expenditure for shelter takes the form of rent. This section will examine factors which affect the budgetary priority assigned to rent. As mentioned earlier, welfare families bargain for housing on the free market and, as a consequence, pay a bit more than they would in a housing project. Rent in a housing project, where many of the working families live, is adjusted, in some measure, to ability to pay. Welfare families spend more for rent than working families because they tend to be larger and to require more rooms.

Graph VIII-2 displays the dollar expenditures of various sized welfare and working families for rent. The dotted line shows the theoretical increase in rent that would be required to maintain the investment per person of two person families for larger families. It conservatively assumes that additional rooms cost $20 per month and one half room is required for each additional person.

The absolute payment for rent changes little as the family size increases. Since larger families have more rooms, even if not proportionately more for their size, the quality of their housing must decline precipitously. This is shown by the increasing vertical distance between the theoretical and actual graphs.

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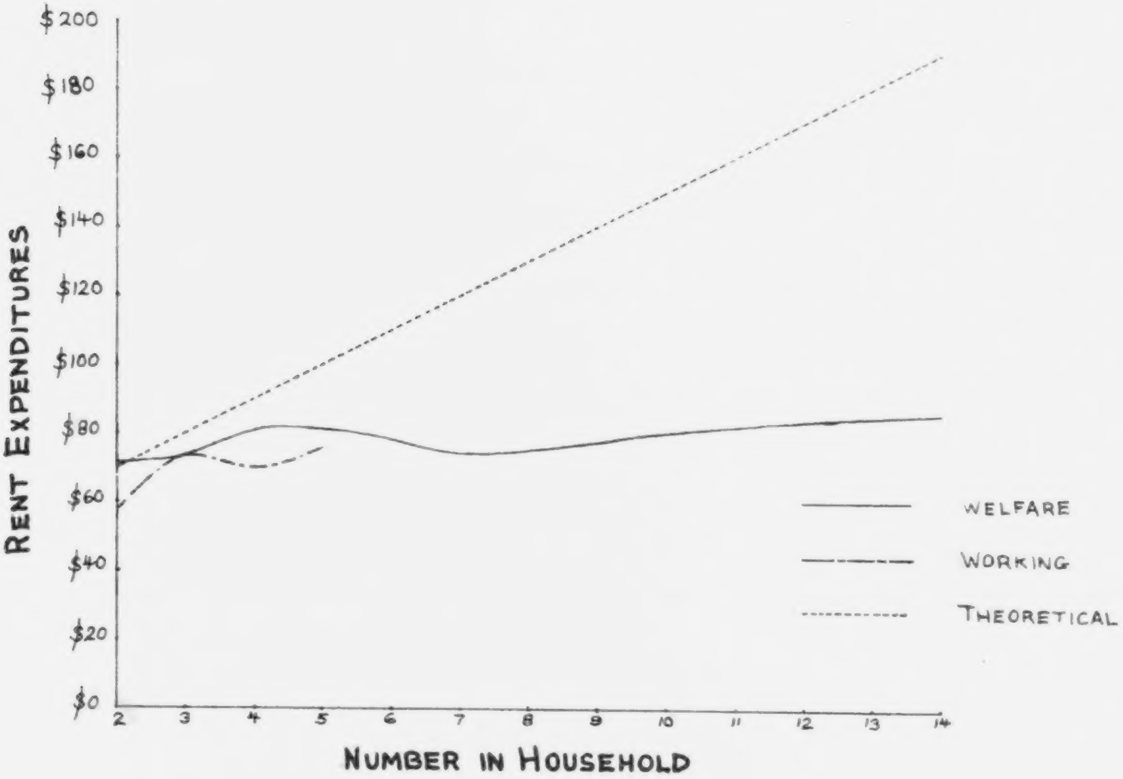
[9] Evaluating each expenditure as a percent of total expenditure departs from the practice of economists who relate expenditures to income. The latter measure is better for tracing the flow of money as it enters the family economy and is distributed among expenditure items and savings. The sociologist is interested in expenditure allocations as an indicator of decisional priorities which reflect styles of life. The relative weight of each type of purchase among all purchases reveals these priorities.

The practical difference in computing expenditure in relation to total expenditure rather than income is that savings and insurance, which derive from income but are not expended, are excluded from the base of the computation. Also, the deferment of income for one month to cover expenditures for another, as in time payment plans, means that earlier purchases are counted as debt payments. At this subsistence level, the non-expended parts of income in a given month are relatively small so that whether income or expenditure is taken as the base makes little difference.

GRAPH VIII-2

WELFARE AND WORKING FAMILY EXPENDITURES FOR RENT
ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF PERSONS IN THE HOUSEHOLD (1970)



The priority a family assigns to rent is reflected in the proportion of the total expenditures which it allocates for rent In June, 1970, the welfare population expended an average of $78.20 per month, or about 22 percent of its total expenditures, for rent. At the same time, the working population expended an average of $63.60 per month, or about 17 percent of its total expenditures, for rent. The welfare family, therefore, treats rent as a higher priority than does the working family (10).

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[10] The welfare population also expends more on house maintenance. They spend an average of $19.60 per month for electricity and heat as compared with $6.80 per month for the working sample ($t=9.55$, $p< .001$). For household furnishings and improvements, the welfare population spends $22 per month as compared to $16.60 per month for the working population ($t=2.78$, $p< .05$). The working person, being away all day, may give less attention to house furnishings and use less electricity. Welfare families, on all these counts, devote relatively more resources to internal home management.

Why do they do this? Is it because welfare families are larger? We found above that the large family crowds more people into the same quarters. Because it is increasingly impoverished due to the presence of mouths on the food budget, the living space of a larger family may be less than that of a smaller one. Table VIII-11 compares the proportions spent on rent by families with differing numbers of children (I-65).

TABLE VIII-11

PROPORTION OF EXPENDITURES FOR RENT AMONG
WELFARE AND WORKING FAMILIES IN 1970
WITH VARYING NUMBERS OF CHILDREN
(in percents)

NUMBER OF CHILDREN	WELFARE FAMILIES			WORKING FAMILIES			
	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	
One	33.6	16.2	76	19.3	6.7	40	$t=2.38$, $p < .02$
Two	30.1	17.3	91	17.6	6.8	29	$t=2.11$, $p < .05$
Three or four	24.9	10.1	176	15.7	7.8	26	$t=5.33$, $p < .001$
Five or more	19.4	8.0	101	14.1	6.7	7	$t=5.37$, $p < .001$
	$F=21.8$ $p < .005$			$F=1.98$ p=n.s.			

Whatever the number of children, welfare families commit a larger slice of their expenditure to rent than do working families. Thus, larger family size among welfare recipients does not explain their increased rental. Reading vertically, the single child welfare family expends a third of its budget on rent, but the family with over five children spends less than a fifth. The change, though in the same direction, is not statistically significant among working families. The larger the family, among welfare recipients, the lower the priority of rent. Large families, presumably, obtain lower quality, or more crowded, living space and/or are living in low rent neighborhoods. A perusal of the map at the head of this report shows that they live in low rent neighborhoods. The absolute rentals as shown in the graph confirm that they pay low rent.

While absolute rent is relatively stable, larger families may have more rooms for the same money. Table VIII-12 shows proportionate rent expenditures according to the number of rooms in which welfare and working families live.

Reading horizontally, welfare families spend a larger proportion of their budget for each size apartment or home than do working families. This does not mean that they are obtaining apartments in better buildings or in better locations. Reading vertically, rent commands a smaller proportion of the resources of families living in larger quarters, that is, of larger families. Were the families living in larger apartments the wealthier families, as would generally be the case, then the declining proportion for rent would reflect the traditional finding. The wealthier devote a smaller proportion

TABLE VIII-12

PROPORTION OF EXPENDITURES FOR RENT AMONG WELFARE AND WORKING FAMILIES IN 1970 WITH VARYING NUMBERS OF ROOMS

(in percents)

NUMBER OF ROOMS	WELFARE FAMILIES			WORKING FAMILIES			
	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	
One to Four	32.0	15.9	161	19.2	6.8	58	$t=8.28$, $p < .001$
Five	25.7	10.7	116	16.5	6.1	31	$t=2.51$, $p < .02$
Six or more	20.9	10.4	167	12.4	7.7	13	$t=3.59$, $p < .001$
	$F=30.82$ $p < .001$			$F=5.97$ $p < .01$			

of their income to rent. The present finding is also paradoxical because larger quarters offer economies of scale. One room is always a kitchen and baths increase more slowly than rooms. The paradox is due to the fact that incomes do not increase in proportion to the requirements of increasingly large families. As the family becomes larger, disproportionately more of its budget must be allocated to food and clothing and, as a consequence, proportionately less may be allocated to rent.

The rental market for this population has a relatively narrow range. Few rent for less than \$50 or for more than \$110 per month. Held by income constraints, their flexibility in bidding for housing is restricted by the demands of other living requirements such as food and clothing. Most are near subsistence level in their food expenditures. A welfare family of five purchases about 21 person-weeks of food for \$128--spending \$6.10 to feed each person for a week. A welfare family of seven purchases 30 person-weeks of food a month for \$142--spending \$4.74 a week for each member of the family.

As the welfare family grows, the total family food bill rises. Its living quarters become tighter and tighter. The working family has a little higher per capita food budget and has a bit more flexibility. For the welfare family, though not for the working family, food becomes a major trade-off for rent. This is shown strikingly in Table VIII-13.

At every level of food expense, welfare families spend proportionately more on rent than working families. This reconfirms earlier findings. Reading vertically, as food expenditures increase, the proportionate amounts spent for rent decrease sharply in welfare homes but only slightly in working families. Rent expenditure is a most vulnerable element in the welfare budget. Rent is a major trade-off for food. This trade-off is less important in working homes. Admission to housing projects, a subsidized rent available to the working families, may reduce the pressure of rent on food. Food stamps, available to welfare families, may reduce the pressure of food on

TABLE VIII-13

PROPORTION OF EXPENDITURE FOR RENT AT DIFFERENT LEVELS OF FOOD EXPENDITURE FOR WELFARE AND WORKING FAMILIES (1970)
(in percents)

MONTHLY EXPENDITURE FOR FOOD	PROPORTION EXPENDED ON RENT: WELFARE FAMILIES Mean	SD	N	WORKING FAMILIES Mean	SD	N	
$79 or less	34.3	18.0	138	18.8	6.4	28	$t=7.87$, $p < .001$
$80 - $140	24.9	8.8	211	18.1	7.3	55	$t=5.81$, $p < .001$
$141 and over	17.4	6.8	96	14.1	6.8	19	$t=1.89$, $p < .10$
	$F=56.94$ $p < .001$			$F=2.96$ $p < .10$			

rent but to a lesser extent. The family food requirement becomes greater with increases in family size. On a fixed budget, the rent is held at about the same level and, implicitly,then, takes a smaller cut of total expenditure. The family suffers increased crowding before it reduces its table. This reflects, in part, the involuted character of the welfare life style and, in part, nearness of the food budget to an irreducible level.

The proportion of expenditures allocated for clothing measures the importance attached to appearances--to the external relations of the family. There is little economy of scale in supplying clothing to a family. The cost of clothing a family, like the cost of food, increases with the growth in size of the family. In practice, the mother with limited funds, adjusts by buying fewer or lower quality clothes for each one. The need for clothing exerts less pressure on rent than does the need for food. Table VIII-14 shows the relation between clothing expenses and rent.

TABLE VIII-14

PROPORTION OF EXPENDITURES FOR RENT AMONG WELFARE AND WORKING FAMILIES WITH VARIOUS LEVELS OF CLOTHING EXPENSE (1970)
(in percents)

EXPENDITURE/ MONTHLY FOR CLOTHING	WELFARE FAMILIES Mean	SD	N	WORKING FAMILIES Mean	SD	N	
To $37	33.6	14.2	149	21.9	7.3	29	$t=6.59$, $p < .001$
$38 - $67	26.6	13.9	129	18.6	6.7	23	$t=4.24$, $p < .001$
$68 or more	19.1	7.7	165	14.5	5.7	50	$t=4.55$, $p < .001$
	$F=56.4$ $p < .001$			$F=12.7$ $p < .001$			

At every level of clothing expenditure, welfare families devote proportionately more to rent than do working families. This again reconfirms the importance of life within the family for the welfare households. Reading vertically, for both welfare and working families, clothing expenditure and proportionate rent expenditure are negatively associated. Clothing, like food, is purchased at the expense of housing. The working household tends not to sacrifice housing for food but is prepared to sacrifice housing for clothing. Clothing supports the presentation of self to the outside and, thus, the strong demand for it by working families is consistent with their broader social involvement.

Aside from the pressure of priorities within a family budget, the proportion expended for rent is a function of the family's bargaining power. Longer experience on welfare tends to decrease the proportion spent for rent. Those on welfare for the first time spend a little better than 28 percent (N=255, sd=13.5) of the expense budget on rent while those who have had previous welfare experience spend not quite 24 percent (N=189, sd=13.4) (F=11.64, $p < .001$). New recipients may have been in nuclear family settings, with a male breadwinner, before receiving welfare. When they become public charges, and their incomes are reduced, they adjust downward but the adjustment is not immediate. Those who have settled into their welfare status may negotiate more favorable terms for rent. It is not that welfare status strengthens economic bargaining power but that the process of changing status weakens it.

Residential mobility, like entrance upon a new status, may also weaken bargaining power. The welfare family that has not moved in five years expends 23 percent (N=103, sd=12.4) of its budget on rent while the family that has moved three or more times expends 27 percent (N=108, sd=16) (F=3.75, $p < .05$). For the working family, this much residential mobility increases the proportional expense for rent only from 16.7 percent (N=41, sd=7.1) to 19.3 percent (N=11, sd=6) (F=.59, p=n.s.). The slightly smaller increase for the working population may be due to the fact that their last move before the interview was, contrary to the general trend, into a housing project with relatively low rent.

Assumedly, every mother would like to maximize the quality of her housing, live in the best neighborhood and have an adequate number of rooms. However, good housing is relinquished to meet other needs. That the welfare mother, other things being equal, devotes a larger proportion of her budget to housing than does the working mother reflects a life style contrast. Welfare families are home oriented families. Working families look more to the community for their relations. Yet, the welfare mother is ready to exchange the quality of her housing condition for other benefits. Primarily, she exchanges quality of housing for the privilege of having children. For each child she has, her living becomes a bit more difficult. This is demonstrated in Graph VIII-2. Not unrelated to this, she trades dwelling comfort for food and clothing. While her home has a high priority, sustenance has a still higher priority. The working family, having fewer children, is less pressed to these trade-offs. Yet, they trade off home quality for clothing, an item related to social relations. Both populations trade home quality for the privilege of residential mobility. By exercising their freedom to move or by being compelled to do so, they reduce their bargaining power on the home rental market. Bargaining power seems to increase as they remain stable in a status.

Who Chooses Food

For families near the subsistence level, food expenditures are less flexible than those for rent or clothing. Proportional expenditures for food will depend on the size of the permanent, rather than the transitory, component of income. Earnings are the permanent component of working and welfare the permanent component of welfare mothers' income. The size of the welfare payment, while based on the number of dependents, increases more slowly than do food expenses.

Graph VIII-3 shows the level of food expenditures as the number in the household increases. The hypothetical line adds \$45 per month, little more than \$10 per week for each additional person.

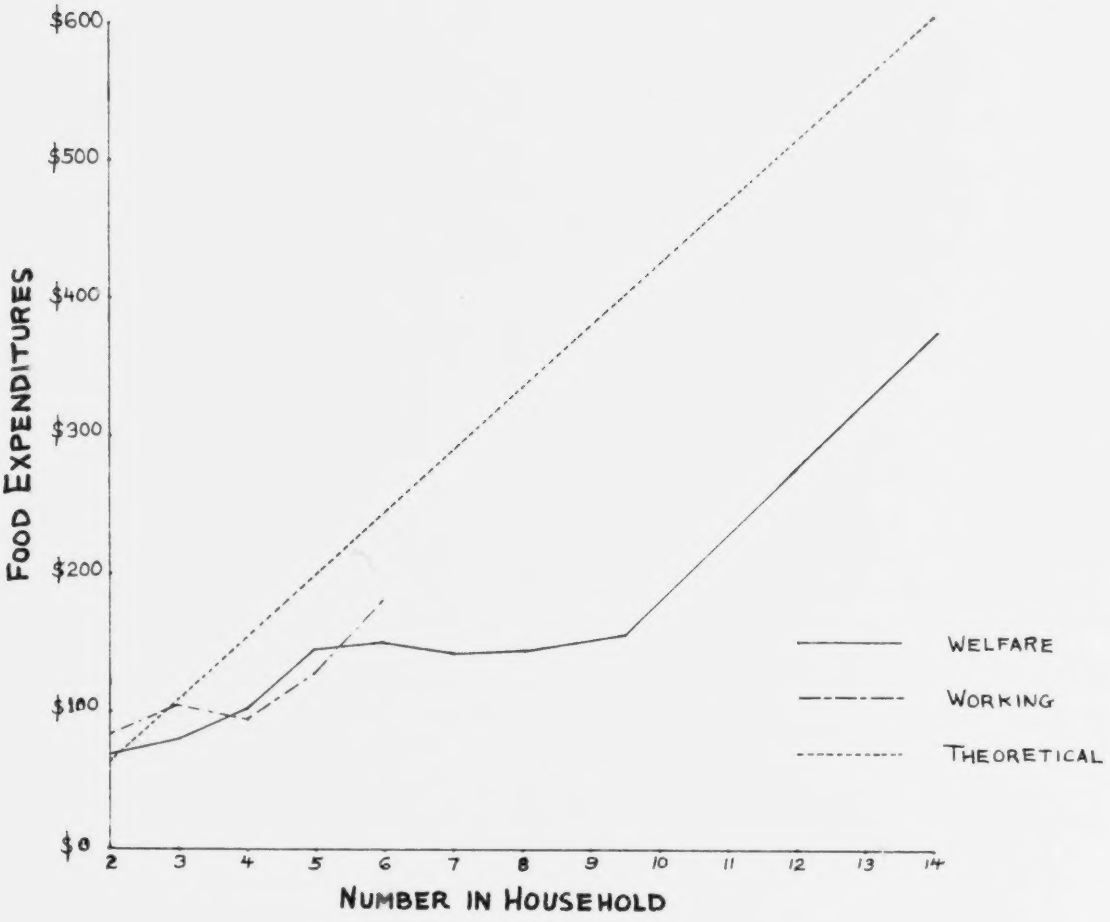
The food expenses of working families remain constant until there are four members in the family. Then, they increase parallel to but below the hypothetical line. In welfare households, expenses increase gradually from two to four person households and then expenditures parallel the theoretical line. Expenditures level off as the family increases from five to ten. After that, the line rises in parallel with the theoretical line.

Apparently, families do not adjust regularly to changes in their circumstances but try to maintain budgetary patterns. Eventually, pressure compels a revision. This occurs earlier among the working than among the welfare mothers. The vertical distance between the hypothetical line and the welfare expenditure for nine and ten person households probably represents the maximum food deficit a family can tolerate while persisting as a family.

Adjustments and priorities may be examined in terms of the proportion of income allocated to food. If the benefit increment is less than the additional food expenses for progressively larger families, then the proportion of total expenditures for food must increase--as long as earned income is negligible. Welfare mothers receiving payments of \$200 per month or less expend 29.1 percent (N=128, sd=12.5), those receiving between \$201 and \$306 expend 32.5 percent (N=199, sd=14.1) and those receiving \$307 or more expend an average of 33.3 percent (N=118, sd=10.6) of total expenditures on food ($F=4.01$, $p < .05$). Thus, the higher the absolute level of welfare income, the greater is the relative size of the food budget. Engels' Law, as expressed a century ago, holds that the higher the income, the lower the proportion spent on food. This proposition was established on the basis of earned income. Earned income is a function of job performance and unrelated to the number of mouths to feed. Engels and others discovered the empirical fact that food expenses advance more slowly than the level of earnings. The fact that families with high earnings also tend to be smaller families accentuates the inverse relation between food expenditures and income.

GRAPH VIII-3

WELFARE AND WORKING FAMILY EXPENDITURES ON FOOD
ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF PERSONS IN THE HOUSEHOLD (1970)



Benefit income is tied to size of family. Empirically, it increases more slowly than the demands placed on it by additional mouths to feed and, therefore, food takes a progressively larger share of the budget of families with higher benefits (11).

Table VIII-15 shows the relation between the number of individuals in welfare and working households and the percent of budget expended on food.

TABLE VIII-15

PROPORTION OF BUDGET EXPENDED FOR FOOD IN
WELFARE AND WORKING HOUSEHOLDS OF VARIOUS SIZES (1970)
(in percents)

NUMBER IN HOUSEHOLD	PROPORTION EXPENDED ON FOOD						
	WELFARE HOUSEHOLDS			WORKING HOUSEHOLDS			
	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	
2 - 3	28.8	14.6	135	26.7	11.9	59	$t=1.05$, $p=$n.s.
4 - 5	31.4	11.7	179	28.5	8.4	31	$t=1.66$, $p<.10$
6 and over	35.2	11.7	130	23.7	7.2	12	$t=4.96$, $p<.001$
	$F=8.61$ $p<.005$			$F=3.77$ $p<.05$			

Reading across, welfare families spend relatively more on food than do working families in households of more than three members. Reading vertically, in welfare households, the relative size of the food budget increases as the size of the household increases. With many mouths to feed and few to work, welfare family life must resolve more and more around the households. Within working families, the relationships seem to be curvilinear. As family size approaches 4-5, the percent allocated for food increases. For still larger families, it decreases. The large working family is probably an older family and/or one with additional adult earners. They supplement family income beyond what they add to the family's food consumption. A larger working family may be more modernizing with wider external social relations. The financing of these relations may draw money from the food budget.

Perhaps the most remarkable finding is the limited responsiveness of the food budget to the increased requirement. Temporary changes, those lasting a few years, in the family have little effect on the overall budget allocations.

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[11] Though larger families enjoy economies of scale, these are insufficient to stabilize the ratio. The data do not reveal the effect of the food stamp program on the propensity to buy food. Public policy controls the relation of food costs to total expenditure. Were benefit increments equal to or greater than incremental food requirements, the ratio of food to total costs would be stabilized or become progressively smaller at increasing income levels.

The presence of small children is such a temporary change. Table VIII-16 examines the proportionate allocations for food for welfare and working families according to whether they have small children

TABLE VIII-16

PROPORTION OF EXPENDITURES FOR FOOD AMONG WELFARE AND WORKING FAMILIES ACCORDING TO WHETHER THEY HAVE CHILDREN UNDER SIX
(in percents)

FAMILY PATTERN	PROPORTION EXPENDED ON FOOD						
	WELFARE FAMILIES			WORKING FAMILIES			
	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	
Have children under six	31.4	13.5	326	24.8	9.3	38	t-3.88, $p < .001$
All children six or over	32.6	11.1	116	28.1	11.0	64	t=2.60, $p < .01$
		t=.94 p=n.s.			t=1.60 $p < .10$		

The contrast between welfare and work remains a significant factor in the allocation for food. The working family with older children does allocate a higher proportion for food. The welfare family resists this readjustment.

The presence of small children indicates stage in the life cycle and the associated situational exigency. The age of the mother is a more graduated indicator of this. Table VIII-17 compares food expenditures according to the mother's age.

TABLE VIII-17

PROPORTION OF EXPENDITURE FOR FOOD IN WORKING AND WELFARE HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO AGE OF MOTHER
(in percents)

AGE OF MOTHER	PROPORTION EXPENDED ON FOOD						
	WELFARE HOUSEHOLDS			WORKING HOUSEHOLDS			
	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	
15 - 21	30.6	19.5	64				
22 - 26	30.4	12.2	118	20.7	9.1	19	t=4.09, $p < .001$
27 - 34	32.5	10.4	135	25.7	8.5	29	t=3.75, $p < .001$
35 and older	32.6	11.7	124	29.4	10.8	53	t=1.78, $p < .10$
	F=.94 p=n.s.			F=5.69 $p < .005$			

Reading horizontally, at each age of mother, welfare households spend a larger proportion on food than do working households. This basic contrast between the two life styles is reconfirmed Reading vertically, among welfare families, the proportion of expenditures committed to food responds to the age of the mother in the youngest category but not beyond this. The youngest age category among welfare mothers is the most active and least likely to remain on welfare. Typically, they soon marry or become working mothers. The older welfare population has an increasingly larger residual of tradionally oriented women and of women of low competence. Significantly, the food expenditure of the youngest welfare mothers is similar to that of the working mothers. That stage in the life cycle is nearly unrelated to eating patterns attests to the traditionalism of welfare families. In traditional culture, patterns change slowly. Among working families, increasing age means an increasing proportion of expenditures for food. With the maturing of the family, and perhaps its increasing size, the food budget adjusts to larger and more varied appetites as well as to social life.

The welfare family increasing its food expenditures trades off housing. Its level of debt, for instance, is unrelated to the proportion expended on food (F=1.07, p=n.s.). In the working family, food is traded off for that which they acquire through indebtedness. The higher the debt, the lower the proportion spent on food (F=3.84, $p < .025$). These debts are incurred for hard items such as furniture, perhaps a car and a television set. Thus, while not trading food for housing in terms of rent, the working family does trade food for home improvements. For the working family, expenditure on recreation and grooming is a trade-off for food (F=4.27, $p < .025$), but not for the welfare family (F=.82, p=n.s.). Food is foregone among working families to allow broader social life. This proposition, in reverse would hold that where food expenses are increasing social life is contracting

The discussion thus far has dealt with the internal competition among budget items for priority. These priorities are established in the light of external cultural influences. Level of education is another indicator of the broadening of cultural and social life. Welfare mothers who remained longer in school tend to budget a smaller proportion of their incomes for food (F=2.97, $p < .05$). The relation is in the same direction for working mothers but is not statistically significant (F=.8, p=n.s.). Schooling, associated with interest in social mobility, promotes the sacrifice of food for symbols of status. Educated welfare households are on the way to becoming working households.

In general, welfare households spend relatively more for food than do working households, especially the larger welfare households. The food budgets of working households are more responsive than are welfare households to situational exigencies. The proportion spent for food in both types of family respond to an increase in mouths to feed. Working but not welfare families change their eating patterns from one to another stage in the family life cycle. Welfare families seem less likely to change organizationally as their households grow. They simply magnify what they already are. The increased percentage expended on food, as welfare family size grows, documents their approach to a subsistence level. Food requirements, being least flexible, draw money away from housing, clothing and recreation. Under the stress of a nine or ten person household some reorganization may come about in the welfare family. At this point, the welfare family's breadbasket becomes non-negotiable.

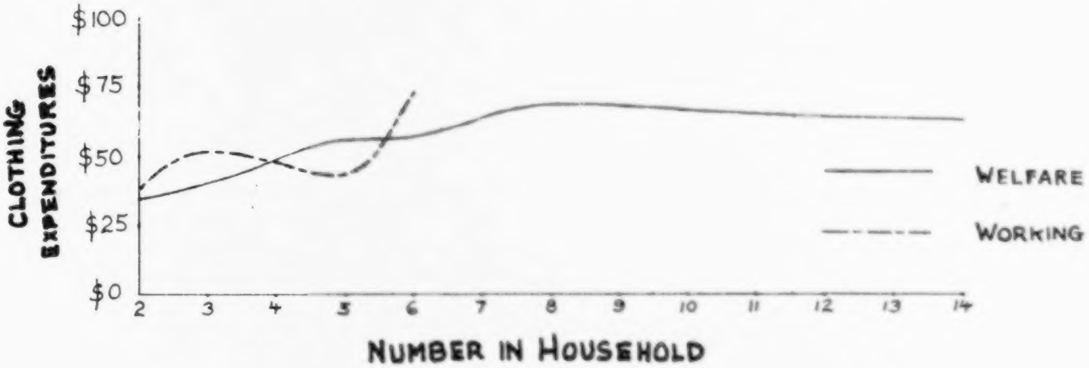
In the working family, growth means structural reorganization and, possibly, more hands. When the family increases beyond four or five individuals, as suggested by Graph VIII-3, it reorganized, perhaps, becoming more efficient in food purchases and preparation as well as in decreasing other expenses.

Who Chooses Clothing

Clothing is an extension of the self and provides an opportunity for making a statement about the character of the self. A person participating widely socially, attending dances, church and who is working needs a variety of clothing. The expansion in family size creates a need for more as well as for a variety of clothing. This increases the pressure for expenditure of family budget for clothing. Graph VIII-4 shows the clothing expenditures for working and welfare families of various sizes.

GRAPH VIII-4

WELFARE AND WORKING FAMILY EXPENDITURES FOR CLOTHING
ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF PERSONS IN THE HOUSEHOLD (1970)



There is little difference in absolute expenditure for clothing between working and welfare households. Clothing expenses may rise as working families exceed five persons. In welfare households, the clothing budget approximately doubles as the number in the family quadruples from two to eight persons and scarcely changes thereafter. With a relatively stable dollar expenditure, the proportion of total expenditure claimed by clothing persistently declines as the family grows. Clothing is a flexible expenditure. Like rent, it relaxes its pressure in the face of increasing requirements for food in larger families. In the internal struggle to establish family expenditure priorities, clothing is a weak competitor.

Nevertheless, on the whole, it leaves a bit more of an imprint on the working family than on the welfare family budget. Greater involvement by working families in extrafamilial social relations exerts pressure on the clothing budget. The greater the significance of these social relations, the more expended on clothing.

A change in social status, such as appointment to welfare, it was argued above, weakens the negotiating position of the mother in the rental market. Additional money for rent is taken from the clothing budget. Those on welfare for the first time expent 12.9 percent (N=253, sd=9.2) of their budget for clothing as compared with 17.5 percent (N=189, sd=15.3) of those who have been on welfare a longer time (t=3.67, $p < .001$) (IV-22). Clothing expenses can be deferred if a family has just become welfare dependent.

The extent to which clothing competes with rent and food for funds depends on certain social relational factors. An attitude toward others reflects the substance of a social relation. Such an attitude includes both an affective or intellectual disposition of the subject as well as her evaluation of the object to which this disposition might become attached. Since clothing is an expression of the self, it would be most closely associated with the orientational or dispositional part of the social attitude. The projective picture stories reveal such orientations. The interpretative theory is that the respondent reveals self attitudes in those attributed to the characters in the story.

One of the pictures to which respondents wrote creative stories showed a person waiting for an interview, probably a job interview. The stories were coded according to the type of affect the principal actor expressed toward others (I-28). Those who described the principal actor as expressing positive affect expended 11 percent of their budget for clothing (N=36, sd=7.4). If negative affect was expressed, 20 percent (N=48, sd=25.7) was allocated for clothing (F=4.99, $p < .01$). Clothing expenditures seem associated with a negative attitude toward others. Clothing, an extension of the self, becomes a way of asserting the self in situations of conflict.

So much for the predisposition. An increase in significant social encounters, a greater involvement with the social objects of attitude, adds to the personal value of clothing. Church attendance and social entertaining are two prime situations in which "dress" clothing is used to define the public self. Table VIII-18 shows the influence of church attendance on the proportion spent on clothing (IV-30).

In the welfare population, church attendance and clothing expense are positively associated. In the working population, there is no relation. Frequent church attenders in the welfare population include a good number of Pentecostals for whom church going means being well-dressed. Also, for this population this is almost the sole form and certainly one of the most significant forms of social intercourse. The working families are already engaged in a wide range of social encounters through their work and church adds little to this for them.

Racially related and ethnic cultural factors, as noted above, affect clothing expenditure. In both welfare and working households, Negroes spend a higher proportion of their budget on clothing than do whites. Welfare whites purchase housing rather than clothing. Negroes trade off quality of housing for clothing. But, in all cases, food takes priority over clothing in most of the range of demand.

TABLE VIII-18

PROPORTION OF EXPENDITURE ON CLOTHING AMONG
WELFARE AND WORKING FAMILIES IN 1970
ACCORDING TO FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE IN 1969
(in percents)

	PROPORTION EXPENDED ON CLOTHING					
FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE	WELFARE FAMILIES			WORKING FAMILIES		
	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N
Never	13.0	9.2	196	13.4	7.8	43
Occasionally	14.9	8.9	148	13.6	8.6	38
Frequently	18.4	19.6	99	14.0	8.1	21
	$F=6.39$			$F=.02$		
	$p<.01$			p=n.s.		

Thus, clothing becomes the social budgetary item. A high priority for clothing is consistent with the expanding of social relations. In order of need, however, food has priority. At the income levels in this study, resources would only be available for a marked investment in clothing among smaller families. As the family increases in size, more and more of its budget must be devoted to the basic requirements of survival.

Do Expenditure Patterns Influence Income Composition?

The difference in mean total expenditures for a month between welfare and working mothers was negligible in 1969 ($310 and $387, respectively) and, for practical purposes, non-existent in 1970 ($371 and $376, respectively). Allocations under the press of scarcity reveal priorities for goods and services. Budgetary allocation is a poor measure of a spiritual life style or for life styles resting on free or public goods or on goods and services supplied by other units of the extended family. Quality of life depends on social honor, mental and physical health, interpersonal attitudes, esthetic sensibilities and ideological commitments. None of these is adequately reflected in budgetary allocations, at least not at the very general level at which expenses are categorized in this study.

Within these limitations, however, the priorities among goods and services reflect those aspects of life style for which they are necessities or symbols. Within a fixed budget, increasing expenditure for one item means decreasing the expenditure for another. What, however, if the assumption of a fixed income level were dropped and the view reversed. Do needs for rent, clothing, food and other items lead to a change in the income level? This is close to the common sense belief that people work to satisfy specific wants (12). This analysis will relate specific expenditures of welfare mothers to

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[12] A microeconomic analysis of the relation of earned income to type of expenditure would examine changing purposes of expenditures at various levels

the proportions of their incomes attributed to earnings (13). Basic expenditures, such as for food and rent, will not likely affect such transitory income. The more flexible items, such as clothing and transportation, would respond to such temporary fluctations.

Welfare mothers were classified according to the level of their monthly expenditures for clothing (II-39). Those whose expenditures for clothing were below $28 earned an average of 9.7 percent of their income (N=149, sd=21.7). Those expending $29-$56 for clothing earned 11.5 percent (N=129, sd=27.4) and those spending $57 or more earned 17.1 percent (N=166, sd=24.9) of their income (F=3.90, $p < .05$). Expenditures for clothing are positively associated with ratios of earned to total income. Welfare mothers who aspire to dress better or have their children dress better are more likely to work to supplement their income. This is logical. Welfare mothers who supplement their incomes by earnings also have higher incomes and so have more money for clothes. The demand for clothing is elastic and work to satisfy this demand may reinforce it. Work outside the home will create further clothing needs--need for work clothes, for clothes to travel to work and for general clothing appropriate to one who is working.

Transportation expenditures are, to a large extent, work dependent. They would also inflate through a feedback effect. Those who work to meet transportation needs thereby incur further transportation needs. Fifty-one percent (447) of the welfare mothers claim negligible transportation costs. These women must rarely venture from the vicinities of their homes. A glance at the map in Chapter III shows that many of the respondents live in Camden City and are in walking distance of the welfare agency. Within the welfare population, those expending $1 or less during the month for transportation earn an average of 7.6 percent (N=220, sd=19.1) of their income. Few of these work at all. Those spending $2-$10 for transportation earn 10.5 percent (N=130, sd=26) and those spending $11 or over earn an average of 28.4 percent (N=96, sd=28.4) of their total income (F=27.4, $p < .01$). Money is earned in order to buy transportation. The proportion of income earned increases sharpy with a modest increment in transportation expenditure (at a 25¢ fare, $11 a month would allow only twenty-two round trips or one journey

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of earnings. Income earned would be the independent variable and the expenditures the dependent variables. The preceding analysis followed this model but substituted a variety of other conditions for the independent variable. The reasoning may be reversed. We may begin with the evidence of purchases, interpreting them as needs, and then ask whether various levels or types of purchases affect the level of earnings. Earnings become the dependent variable.

[13] The transitory component of income is the element which is usually manipulated for meeting specific needs. For the working households, this additional income is composed, in part, of benefit payments and, in part, is compensation for temporary additional work. Benefit income, however, is not responsive enough to monthly fluctuations in needs. Further, our data do not permit us easily to disentangle the supplementary component of work income. Income data covering a series of months would have been helpful to that end. For the welfare population, work income is supplementary income and, to a great extent, is a transitory component.

to work each working day). Such expenditures may "snowball." Women may obtain a car to go to work and use it for additional social interaction outside the home. Similarly, those accustomed to travelling to work by bus more readily use the bus for social interaction. Transportation assumes its own momentum. Both earning and expending for transportation reflect a widening social life.

Increased earnings and expenditures for clothing and transportation are both means of relating with the world outside the family and each an expression of a life style. While these may initially be purchased with transitory income, the broadening social interaction following from them is the same kind of interaction which leads to accepting a life of regular work. Clothing and transportation then become the objects of purchase with the regular, permanent income. The woman who works part time may draw herself into full time employment--a self-induced socialization.

The two alternate ways of relating to the economy, work and welfare, and the complex of relations which ensue underpin two styles of life: one, a life turned inward toward home and family, and a second turned outward toward the larger community. The family budgets reflect this distinction. Welfare families commit their resources to home and home maintenance. Working families commit more of theirs to costs attendant on the maintenance of external relations. Families may experience a high or a low standard of living within each of these patterns. That standard is expressed in the per capita expenditures on the various lines. Both types of families respond to the pressure of increasing size by reducing their standard more quickly than they increase income or expenditure level. Under pressure, both types of life style are resistant to change. The traditional life style of the welfare family is perhaps more resistant than is the modernizing life style of the working family. The working family only retains its style by remaining a relatively small family. As it grows, it is increasingly likely to become a welfare family. The primary reason for budgetary pressure is family growth. The growing family is trading off quality of life for the privilege of having children. As pressure mounts, with more and more mouths to feed, food takes priority. Housing and clothing are both forfeited for subsistence. The working family will be more resistant to lowering the quality of its dress than will the welfare family. This is consistent with their greater orientation to external social relations. The welfare family moving toward economic independence will work to support its developing external relations, supplementing income to improve clothing and permit freer transportation.

CHAPTER IX

CHURCH IN THE LIFE OF THE IMPOVERISHED MATRIFOCAL FAMILY

Family, Economy and Church

Nine out of ten welfare and working poor mothers in our Camden samples are church attenders--some intensely involved in religious life. Yet, the literature on poverty in America scarcely mentions the church. Students of the economics of poverty examine relations of exchange with little attention to the substance of the social relations which condition that exchange. Students of social work and social policy ignore the religion of the impoverished in their contributions to the literature. Such blindness to a central feature of the reality they study must be motivated. Social workers, especially those associated with government welfare programs, see themselves as contributors to scientific literature and resist identification with the social service personnel of the "Bowery" missions who write ideological tracts. The constitutional separation of church and state conditions analyses of poverty programs. Constitutionally required irrelevance of religion to the relationship between welfare client and welfare agency is translated into a perception that religion is irrelevant to the lives of the clients--and to their impoverished condition.

The literature on the scientific study of religion has, for its part, shown a consistent interest in poverty. The lives of the poor are a seedbed of religious and social change. Factors of class, economic values and political strength express religious culture (1). Neither the fascination with the exotic nor ideologically based claims to the irrelevance of religion helps us to understand its role in the lives of the impoverished.

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[1] The relation of religion and the economy, as studied by Max Weber, R. H. Turner and many others, has been at the center of sociological debate for half a century. Weber's Protestant Ethic (1930) and the literature which emerged around it related religious values, rationalization of the economy and social mobility. Troeltsch (1960) argues that sects are initiated among impoverished strata and so reject the established polity and the material world in general. Lanternari (1965) has linked new religious movements among the colonially oppressed to their drive for social and economic change. Denominational membership is closely tied to class position (Lazerwitz, in Schneider, 1964, pp. 426ff). The political sociology of religion has depicted the role of religious organizations in the class struggle (Pope, 1954). The social history of religion has demonstrated the role of class structures in the evolution of denominations (H. Richard Niebuhr, 1929). The lowest economic strata in America are found to be alienated from "main line" denominations (Winter, 1961).

Some life style differences between welfare and working mothers are rooted in differences in their religious orientations just as some are rooted in economic relations. This chapter traces some links between religion, family and the economy. The chapter begins by demonstrating the salience of religion in the lives of these impoverished households. Then it will be shown that differences in religious culture account for phenomena which might have seemed to be directly a product of race, region of origin or rural/urban background. It will then be hypothesized that each religious setting is associated with particular elements of life style which, in turn, correspond to a move from an anomic dependent situation to a relatively stable situation based on economic independence. The elements of life style associated with religion are not necessarily the same as those reflected in the cash flow of family budgets. While they are also a function of education, they are relatively indifferent to the situation of child dependency, so important in the economically shaped life style, and more reflective of the social life of the family in the community network of families. This last finding may be peculiar to those religious settings which comfortably accept the membership of the matrifocal household. The black church in America is one such setting. With over two-thirds of all respondents being black, particular attention will be given to the black Christian churches. The social history of the black Protestant church--principally in America, a necessary background for this chapter--is presented as Appendix C.

The Extent and Nature of Religious Involvement

The welfare and the working populations, being residentially propinquitous, attend church together and hear the same preachers. Those who are Baptists share pews at the Little Rock Baptist Church and the Tenth Street Baptist Church. Few welfare mothers join their working sisters at Antioch Baptist Church. They may meet at the Wesley AME Zion Church or the Asbury Methodist or appear together, if Catholic, at St. Joseph's and Sacred Heart. Welfare mothers also attend the Church of God of Prophecy, Church of Christ-Saints of God and a few are found in Kingdom Hall of Jehovah's Witnesses. Nearly all hear calls for personal virtue, accept the concept of the universally open church and participate in rites of personal healing.

A member of the research staff visited the First Calvary Church of God in Christ in Camden on a Sunday in September 1970 and wrote the following impressions.

> Broken plate glass, burned out retail shops. Kaign Avenue had been hot this summer. A community charity bazaar, second hand clothes. The Jewish merchants were gone. A store-front Pentecostal church. A shoeshine stand. Ladies dressed for church. A quiet Sunday, eleven A.M.
>
> Tattered black shingle on a white stucco facade of a store-front. Classes and services throughout the week. A door slightly ajar. Groups sat on wooden benches in a white wood-paneled room. Light globes hung from the ceiling. An illuminated cross at the head of the room. Lectern and tithing box.

Sunday school classes. Pert young lady in her twenties with new husband, a tuft of beard, disserted articulately on forgiveness. A child of three with her. Moralizing on the relations of everyday life. An animated 15 minute discourse on smiling and her theme was picked up by a more mature lady. A group of 10 children led by a girl of about 17 in a white dress were Biblical characters.

At 12 o'clock, a hand bell was rung. Sunday school class was over. The deacon, a man near 60, arose, blessed. Every person rose, exchanged greetings, God bless you. The 12 o'clock service. The minister, a man of 40, in white clerical collar, about two dozen women, a dozen men--about old enough to have children in elementary school. Gospel singer, a man on a set of drums, a small organ, a piano. Everyone knows the hymn. A young lady reads the 15th Psalm line by line. Line by line the assembly repeats in chorus. No reading, no books. Repeating thank you Jesus. All the assembled rise and sing, clapping, clapping, on the edge of a dance. From time to time the pastor's left hand is raised in a thank you Jesus. The receipt of the spirit, spasmodic jerking, the spirit entered. Tightening forehead muscles, cries, repeated by the assembled in chorus, the testimonies began. One by one the assembled arose, thanked the Lord for their rising in the morning, thanked the Lord for the visitors, thanked the Lord for the presence of the congregation, thanked the Lord for the healing of a son. The Devil got into him, a healing cloth, he wouldn't let me put it on his head so I put it on my own head, my head was like his head, thank the Lord, He did not take him from me last night. Clapping, a young man admitted his doubts about coming to church but now will come, thank the Lord he had come. Visitors offered testimonies, thanked the Lord for brothers and sisters. Gospel hymns, clapping, vibrating in place. A woman grabbed the tambourine. Smacked it, jerked as the spirit entered her. The pastor read from the first two verses of the 12th chapter of Hebrews. Get rid of weight, get rid of sin. He dwelt on the words, danced through the assembled. He called upon anyone to be healed. The young man who had doubted came and sat before him. A child came forward. Then other children came forward. Others formed a circle. The pastor cried--come to pray for the healing of another in prison, in a hospital. He danced among them. He touched their heads, called upon the Lord to heal. The worshippers returned to their seats. The chorus was clapping and jumping and drums and organ and tympani shook the building and in triumph they thanked Jesus. It was nearly 2 o'clock. Kaign Avenue was still warm and quiet. A large sign painted across the road "take the dope peddlers out of the neighborhood, give us playgrounds" and under it the signatures of neighborhood children.

Something of the Pentecostal church is shared with nearly all of the black churches. Table IX-1 shows the proportions of welfare and working mothers identifying with each of the most popular churches. The question was "What kind of church is it that you go to?" (IV-31). The respondent circled a digit corresponding to the appropriate denomination on a basic list developed after a pilot test.

TABLE IX-1

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS OF
WELFARE AND WORKING MOTHERS IN 1969
(in percents)

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION	WELFARE MOTHERS	WORKING MOTHERS
None	11	12
Catholic	22	23
Baptist	34	36
Methodist	13	15
Pentecostal	12	2
Other Protestant	6	11
Jehovah's Witnesses	2	1
Jewish	0*	0
	(437)	(101)

*Two individuals

Of every ten respondents, one claims no church affiliation, two belong to the Catholic Church and about seven affiliate with a Protestant church. This distribution of affiliations parallels that of the general American population. The specific Protestant denominations attended, however, aren't the typical ones. Most black Protestants attend black churches. Baptist and Methodists predominate--more specifically, Negro Baptists and Negro Methodists predominate.

Also atypically, white Catholic respondents are disproportionately Puerto Rican rather than Slavic, southern European and Irish. The category of "Other Protestant" includes a scattering of Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Lutheran, African Methodist Episcopal and African Methodist Episcopal Zion and other non-Pentecostal Protestant churches. Given the two million Negro Americans claimed by AME and AME Zion, it is of note that few of the welfare and low income residents of Camden attend those churches. These have become the churches of the black middle class.

Welfare mothers, in contrast to working mothers, are more apt to attend Pentecostal Churches (x^2=8.68, df=1, $p < .005$). They include the Apostolic churches, the Church of God in Christ, Church of Christ, Assemblies of God and Holiness Churches, among others. To a great extent, these are sects that have withdrawn from Baptist churches. Some have derived from

Negro Methodist antecedents. All are predominantly black (2). The specifically Baptist and Methodist churches attended by welfare mothers are more likely to be small sects, perhaps with "storefront" houses of worship. Those attended by the working mothers are more likely to be the more establishment National Baptists or Christian (formerly Colored) Methodist Episcopal Churches.

The small numbers in our sample require grouping several churches together for analysis. Historical origin, cultural orientations and formal church polity are some justifications for combining Baptists and Pentecostals into a single group termed Baptist-type Protestant. They are characterized by "congregational" polities, relative autonomy of governance in the local church. Some are mirror images of white Baptist churches from which they separated through a racially based schism. Others broke with Negro Baptist churches to better emphasize some doctrinal or ritual orientation or to serve some more defined constituency. This latter is a truer structural differentiation. Methodist and the "Other Protestant" churches, including the few Jehovah's Witnesses, will be combined into a single group termed Methodist-type Protestant. Their congregations, while not fully "episcopal" in polity (excepting groups such as the AME) are organized into networks with more centralized anthority than is customary in the Baptist conventions. These, too, formed by processes of racial schism or structural differentiation. (The processes of schism and structural differentiation are detailed in Appendix C.) The Catholic group remains a distinct category and the two Jewish welfare clients will be dropped from this analysis.

The ensuing pages will thus compare four classes of welfare and working mothers: non-church attenders, those who attend Catholic, Baptist-type Protestant and Methodist-type Protestant churches. For brevity, individuals in the last two categories will be termed "Baptist-types" and "Methodist-types." Where appropriate, some specific comparisons will be made within the Baptist-type churches serving welfare clients between the specifically Baptist and the Pentecostal churches. Within the Methodist-type churches serving working mothers, some comparisons will be drawn between the specifically Methodist and the "Other Protestant" churches. Table IX-1A presents the distribution of church affiliations of welfare and working mothers in our Camden samples in the four combined categories.

This table will serve as a reference. As the data are here clustered, welfare mothers are a bit more likely to be found in Baptist than in Methodist-type churches--specifically, they are more likely to be Pentecostals.

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[2] This table, showing a greater tendency of welfare mothers to attend Pentecostal churches, should not be read in the reverse. Members of Pentecostal churches are not predominantly on welfare. Pentecostals also draw members of nuclear families with working male headed households. Since these churches are supported by tithing and collections, some proportion of their members must have more than marginal incomes.

TABLE IX-1A

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION (CATEGORIES COMBINED) OF WELFARE AND WORKING MOTHERS
(in percents)

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION	WELFARE MOTHERS	WORKING MOTHERS
Catholic	23	23
None	11	12
Baptist-Type	47	39
Methodist-Type	19	26
	(425)	(101)

x^2=2.79 (Baptist-Type/Methodist-Type comparison of welfare and working mothers)
df=1
$p < .10$

Why are Baptist-type churches more popular among welfare and Methodist-type churches among working mothers? Is involvement in the world of work the key to choice of church? Taking welfare mothers employed part time, in some respects an economic borderline group as a test case, we find no significant association between choice of church and degree of welfare dependency (IX-5). Of course, working welfare women remain in the traditional occupations--especially, personal service. The pattern of relations they encounter in their occupations differs little from that of the totally dependent welfare mothers.

Participants in the WIN program stand in sharper contrast to the overall welfare population. WIN participants have a long range intent of moving from welfare into the labor force and are selected by the staff for such a future. They are more likely to be in manual manufacturing occupations, to relate to other workers and to develop a proletarian consciousness. Does religious affiliation affect the likelihood of a nominee to WIN proceeding to participate in the program (IX-12)?

Of the Baptist-types considered for WIN (nominees and participants), 30 percent (64) participated whereas of Methodist-types considered 43 percent (21) participated (p=n.s.). While this difference is short of statistical significance, it seems that those in Methodist-type situations are more likely to move in a work-oriented direction.

Affiliation may be too crude an indicator or the work/welfare distinction is not so clearly a product of religious orientation. Choice of church might be expected to be relatively stable in the face of temporarily shifting modes of support. Unlike the consumption items in the budget which are responsive to transitory income, religion is basic culture and tied to the primary and relatively permanent modes of support. Welfare dependency may not, by itself, qualify as so deep a cultural influence. The relation of the family to the economy must be marked and durable to affect choice of religious denomination. Vice versa, the involvement in a religious culture must be relatively intense to affect work/welfare status.

Frequency of church attendance, one indicator of intensity of involvement, may have to be considered in assessing the relation of religion to labor force status (IV-30). The frequency is affected by the norm in a church regarding attendance as well as by the sense of personal commitment. Frequencies should be compared, therefore, separately for each denomination. In doing so, we find that among Catholics, working mothers attend church a bit more frequently than do welfare mothers. Pentecostals attend church as frequently as Catholics and more frequently than other Protestants. As a result, Pentecostal welfare mothers are more frequently in church than are welfare mothers who attend other churches. Other than this, working and welfare mothers differ little in frequency of church attendance.

However, among welfare mothers, WIN participation is inversely related to frequency of church attendance. (Unfortunately, the numbers become too small to examine this within each denomination.) Seventy-four percent (84) of WIN nominees had attended church at least once during the month preceding the interview while only 47 percent (45) of the WIN participants had attended that often (x^2=9.05, df=1, p $<$.01). WIN participation seems associated with being in a Methodist-type church and among the less frequent attendees. With a larger sample, it would be possible to test the interaction between these items. WIN participants are younger than the general AFDC population and the younger women attend church less frequently. This would not, however, account for so sharp a difference. WIN participants, less likely to be affiliated with a church than non-participants, are more likely to consider themselves religious (IV-34). This finding, presented in Chapter IV, suggested an abandonment of the establishment of religious institutions in an attempt to evolve new religious forms. Thus, neither affiliation nor frequency of attendance are clearly related to the basic life style contrast between the worlds of work and welfare. They may be related, however, to the more subtle change in life style associated with becoming a WIN participant. As described in Chapter IV, this involved both personality and ideological factors. The role of religion is not reflected in a simple dichotomizing of life styles on the basis of labor force status but is more complex.

The correlation with WIN status suggests that a subjective measure of attachment to religion may be relevant. Respondents indicated how much satisfaction they derived from religion (IV-33). Table IX-2 shows the proportions of welfare and working mothers of each religious affiliation replying that they derive much satisfaction from religion.

With the exception of those attending Baptist-type churches, welfare mothers seem to derive slightly more satisfaction from religion than do working mothers, though, in all cases, differences are short of statistical significance. The difference among Catholics may well reflect a racial distinction. Catholic welfare mothers are largely Puerto Rican while Catholic working mothers are more likely to be black. The greater intensity of satisfaction of Methodist welfare over Methodist working mothers may be traced to the fact that the former are in traditional black Methodist groups in

TABLE IX-2

PROPORTION OF WELFARE AND WORKING MOTHERS OF VARIOUS RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS WHO DERIVE MUCH SATISFACTION FROM RELIGION (in percents)

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION	PROPORTION DERIVING MUCH SATISFACTION FROM RELIGION				
	WELFARE MOTHERS		WORKING MOTHERS		p
Catholic	39	(99)	27	(22)	n.s.
None	8	(48)	0	(13)	(N too small)
Baptist-type	47	(203)	49	(39)	n.s.
Methodist-type	50	(41)	31	(26)	n.s.

$x^2=26.18$ (welfare mothers)	$x^2=11.13$ (working mothers)
df=3	df=3
$p < .001$	$p < .02$

which religion is still a relatively all-encompassing affair while the latter may attend the liberal Protestant and AME churches with their Sunday morning Christianity.

Reading vertically, the sharpest distinction is between the low satisfaction among those who claim no affiliation in contrast to the satisfaction of the affiliated--a not surprising result. The significance of religion varies within each part of the study population. Religion is more significant to welfare mothers in Baptist-type and Methodist-type churches than to those in Catholic churches and most significant to working mothers in Baptist-type churches. It is less significant to working mothers affiliated with Catholic and Methodist-type churches.

Several points seem to emerge. First, there is overwhelming church involvement in the entire study population. Second, religion is most intense among Baptists--especially among the Pentecostals. Third, the gross distinction between the welfare and working populations is not as relevant to religious participation as the subtler distinctions between WIN nominees and participants, and some aspects of religion tend to discriminate types within the welfare and working populations. An alternative model will be suggested in the section following the next. Meanwhile, in preparation for that model, the next section will examine the interaction of religion and some of the common variables of this study.

Religion as a Key Explanatory Variable

Race, region of origin and rural/urban background have been ubiquitous independent variables in this study. They are not intrinsic variables but indicators of cultural and social factors which influence the decision to work. The argument has been that classifying a population by rural/urban background, for instance, is in effect classifying them in cultural or life style categories which are related to the selection of a working or welfare life style. Religious affiliation, as well as the way individuals carry out their religion, is also a life style indicator and so might be expected to interact in some determinable way with the life style factor reflected by race, region and rural/urban background as well as with that of working/welfare life style.

On the surface, welfare or working status seems unrelated to race (I-59). About 70 percent of each sample is black. Race, though, is closely associated with religion in this sample. Among welfare mothers, for example, 62 percent (303) of the blacks but only 9 percent (85) of the whites are affiliated with Baptist-type churches. On the other hand, 51 percent of the whites but only 6 percent of the blacks are Catholics. Might the cultural factors underlying religion and race be confounding one another? Table IX-3 compares the racial compositions of the welfare and working populations attending each type of church.

TABLE IX-3

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND RACE
(in percents)

RACE	RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION							
	CATHOLIC		NONE		BAPTIST-TYPE		METHODIST-TYPE	
	Welfare	Working	Welfare	Working	Welfare	Working	Welfare	Working
Black	19	30	67	54	93	95	76	73
White	43	61	31	46	4	5	23	27
Puerto Rican	35	9	2	0	1	0	1	0
Other	3	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
	(100)	(23)	(48)	(13)	(203)	(39)	(82)	(26)
Association between religion and labor force status in each affiliation	x^2=6.60 df=2 $p < .05$		(without other) p=n.s.		p=n.s.		p=n.s.	

Association between religion and race: Welfare population
x^2=124.16
df=2
$p < .001$

Association between religion and race: Working Population
x^2=29.39
df=2
$p < .001$

The racial differences between the welfare and working populations are not statistically significant in any but the Catholic communion. Only 28 black Catholics, less than a quarter of the Catholics, appear in both welfare and working groups together. Welfare mothers not affiliated with a church are racially mixed, about a third being white and the remainder black while the non-affiliated working mothers are about equally divided racially. Baptist-type Protestants, both the Pentecostals and the Baptists, are almost all black. Among Methodist-type Protestants in this sample, about three-fourths are black. Whites in the Methodist-type churches are a bit more likely to be in the integrated or in predominantly white churches, in the sub-category called "Other Protestants." Though religion is not related to welfare/working status, holding the latter constant, reveals a relation between religion and race. The remaining question regards the relation between religion and labor force status with race constant (3). There does not seem to be any statistically significant relation between labor force status and religion.

Region of origin and religion are also interrelated (IV-13). In this sample, as a whole, a slightly higher proportion of the working (64 percent (101)) than of the welfare (56 percent (435)) mothers were born in the Northeastern United States (x^2=2.29, df=1, $p < .20$). The difference, while not statistically significant, suggests a possible relation between welfare status and region of origin. At the same time, religious affiliation is influenced by regional religious culture. Catholics are proportionately more numerous in the Northeast and North Central states, Jews in the Northeast, Methodists are overrepresented in the Southcentral states and Baptists in the Southeastern states. An individual from Baptist dominated areas is not only more likely to be a Baptist but, if not a Baptist, will think more like a Baptist than would his co-religionist from another area. The tendency of recent migrants from the rural South to gravitate to or to re-create small Pentecostal groups exemplifies persistent culturally vestigial religious behavior. A Baptist-type or Methodist-type affiliation may depend more on the denomination dominant in the region of origin than on current commitments to "congregational" or "episcopal" polities. The effect of religion may be difficult to separate from the effect of regional culture on the welfare and working populations (4).

Table IX-4 examines the interrelation of religion, place of birth and welfare/working status. Within each religious group, the welfare and the working mothers do not differ in geographic origins. Puerto Ricans are disproportionately high among welfare Catholics and Northeasterners among Catholic working mothers (x^2=4.94, df=1, $p < .05$). The slightly higher proportion of Northeasterners among Methodist-type working mothers may reflect the slightly higher proportion of whites in this denomination.

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[3] As discussed earlier, it is not legitimate to turn this table around treating the labor force status as a dependent variable since the welfare and working mothers were not selected from the same universe. Thus, the figures given above are merely suggestive.

[4] Length of residence in Camden influences work/welfare status. Sixty-six percent (436) of the welfare and 81 percent (102) of the working populations had lived in the Camden area for five years or more in 1969 (IV-12). In fact 34 percent (436) of the welfare mothers but 47 percent (102) of the working mothers have been in Camden 15 or more years (x^2=6.13, df=1, $p < .02$). Religion, too, seems related to length of residence. Forty percent (82) of those attending Methodist churches have resided in the Camden area for fifteen or more years but only 27 percent (212) of attenders at Baptist-type churches have been there that long (x^2=4.96, df=1, $p < .02$). Thus, working is related both to long residence and being a Methodist.

TABLE IX-4

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS OF WELFARE AND
WORKING MOTHERS ACCORDING TO PLACE OF BIRTH
(in percents)

PLACE OF BIRTH	RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION							
	CATHOLIC		NONE		BAPTIST-TYPE		METHODIST-TYPE	
	Welfare	Working	Welfare	Working	Welfare	Working	Welfare	Working
Northeastern United States	55	70	73	69	48	49	67	81
Southeastern United States	9	9	21	15	43	46	26	15
Puerto Rican	27	4	2	0	1	0	1	0
Other	9	17	4	15	9	5	6	4
	(98)	(23)	(48)	(13)	(202)	(39)	(82)	(26)

Association between religion and Working Mothers	x^2=11.49(working NE/SE without "none") df=2 , $p < .01$
Association between religion and Welfare Mothers	x^2=28.66 (welfare NE/SE) df=3 $p < .001$

On the surface, the near lack of regional differences between the working and welfare groups with religion controlled is striking. A welfare population might well have included a disproportionate number of new migrants from rural Southern areas if only because unemployment is greater among new arrivals. This may indeed be the case for men. On the other hand, the achievement oriented individuals may select migration and this may compensate for their lack of knowledge about the area. Of course, two thirds of this population has been in Camden for over five years and, thus, passed the initial adjustment period. In all events, the labor force status does not seem to be related to region independently of religion. The main association is between religion and region of origin. If we set aside the Puerto Ricans (for whom regional origin and religion are nearly identical), what earlier appeared to be an association between welfare and working status and region turns out to be a relation between religion and region.

This finding may be further specified by separating the Baptists and Methodist type churches into their components. Baptists are more likely than members of other faiths to have been born in the Southeastern states. Among welfare recipients, 43% (151) of those attending specifically Baptist and 41% (51) of those attending Pentecostal churches were born in Southeastern states. Some Pentecostal groups, such as the Church of God in Christ, were formed in response to conditions in the black South. Others, such as the Church of Jesus Christ in the Apostolic Faith or the Father Divine movement, are products of Northern urban black life. Among the welfare mothers attending the Methodist type churches, 60% (55) of those attending specifically Methodist churches and 82% (27) of those attending "Other Protestant" churches were born in the Northeast ($x^2=3.78$, df=1, $p < .05$). This reflects both the regional fact that the "Other Protestant" churches are centered more in the Northeast as well as the slight racial difference in their constituencies. On the whole, Baptists are more likely to be Southerners, Methodists to be Northerners ($x^2=10.97$, df=3, $p < .02$) with Catholics and the non-attenders having intermediate proportions from each of the areas. Thus, most of the difference between working and welfare groups in regional origin may as well be attributed to differences in religious background. Religion here is the intervening variable explaining the relation between region and work status.

Religion, urban/rural background and labor force status are also interconnected. About two-thirds of the welfare and about three quarters of the working populations were born in cities (IV-14). This difference is small but it has been suggested that welfare is related to the migration of rural dwellers to urban centers to which they are not adaptable. Rural areas are a seed-bed for the attitudes of the traditional, patrimonial household economy which is recapitulated in welfare arrangements. Urban areas, for their part, are more likely to generate attitudes suitable to the exchange economy and, thus, prepare urban dwellers for the world of work. The effect of urbanism or ruralism is socio-cultural. Religion, also crystallizing such cultural orientations, may again be an intervening explanatory variable. Table IX-5 shows the association between urban/rural place of birth, religion and welfare/working status. In each religious group (reading this table horizontally), no statistically significant differences appear between the proportions of working and welfare mothers born in urban areas. However, in both the welfare and the working populations, the Baptists have relatively more rural affiliates. Among welfare mothers, Baptists are more likely than Methodists, for instance, to be of rural origin ($x^2=13.05$, df=1, $p < .001$). The same is true in the working sample ($x^2=4.83$, df=1, $p < .05$). Thus, the association between urban/rural origin and being on welfare may be explained by the association between religion and rural/urban background.

That religion is intimately associated with race, region of origin and rural/urban background tells something of the ecology of the black church. Life style differences are a product of these clusters of elements. Any one may be taken to represent the cluster. Thus, it matters little whether the population is classified by regional origin or religion, the impact on the dependent variable is essentially the same. The various black churches are culture groups which emerged under the special conditions affecting blacks and which synthesize their attitudes and values.

TABLE IX-5

PROPORTION OF WELFARE AND WORKING MOTHERS BORN IN URBAN PLACES ACCORDING TO RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION (in percents)

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION	PROPORTION BORN IN URBAN PLACES	
	Welfare Mothers	Working Mothers
Catholic	74 (100)	83 (23)
None	79 (48)	85 (13)
Baptist-Type	57 (202)	60 (38)
Methodist-Type	72 (82)	78 (26)
	$x^2=15.31$ df=3 $p < .01$	$x^2=5.46$ (Bap./All Other) df=1 $p < .02$

Religious Mobility and the Attainment of an Independent Life Style

The Educational Ladder

The welfare and working populations clearly differ in their levels of education. Forty-nine percent (438) of the welfare and 75 percent (101) of the working population completed ten or more years of schooling ($x^2=22.61$, df=1, $p < .001$). This finding has face validity since it is obvious that the more educated are in a better competitive position to claim jobs. Yet, a number of puzzling points have already appeared in this report regarding education. High school graduates appear on the welfare rolls. Earnings do not seem to increase proportionately with education beyond the elementary level. The level of education reflects a complex of other socially relevant attributes. Having obtained an education reflects regional cultural and rural/urban backgrounds and the educational opportunities available in these settings. It indicates cultural commitment to traditional or modernizing roles, the degree of socialization to work-type situations and, thus, ability to hold a job.

Religious groups differ in the educational achievements of their adherents. Perhaps, religion also explains, in a statistical sense, the effect of education on work status (5).

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[5] Educational differences between religious groups may themselves be explained by class or income differences. They may also be a consequence of religious attitudes toward secular education. Certain religions promote secular education while others, tending to withdraw from the secular world, may see education as a threat to holiness.

Table IX-6 shows the differences in levels of education among welfare and working mothers in each religious group (II-72).

TABLE IX-6

PROPORTION OF WELFARE AND WORKING MOTHERS HAVING COMPLETED TEN OR MORE YEARS OF EDUCATION ACCORDING TO RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
(in percents)

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION	PROPORTION HAVING COMPLETED TEN OR MORE YEARS OF EDUCATION				
	Welfare Mothers		Working Mothers		
Catholic	44	(100)	59	(22)	p=n.s.
None	38	(48)	92	(13)	$x^2=12.3$, df=1, $p<.001$
Baptist-type	51	(203)	77	(39)	$x^2=9.1$, df=1, $p<.01$
Methodist-type	66	(82)	73	(26)	p=n.s.
	$x^2=12.68$ df=3 $p<.001$		$x^2=4.95$ df=3 $p<.20$		

Reading vertically, it indeed appears true that in our population educational attainment is associated with religious group affiliation. That the difference is not statistically significant among working mothers may be due to the small number of cases. Reading horizontally, in each religious group, working mothers seem more highly educated whan welfare mothers. Among Catholics and Methodist-types this difference is not statistically significant. The Methodist-types seem to provide the only strong exception to the association of education and labor force status. Whether a Methodist goes on welfare may be due more to situational factors--such as illness or having many dependent children. Welfare mothers attending Methodist churches are more highly educated than any others in the welfare population. The educational level of Methodists is more impressive than might appear on the surface because they are older, growing up at a time when educational opportunities for blacks were more limited. Perhaps the Northern urban origin of this group accounts, in part, for their educational advantage. Among the Methodist-types, the specifically Methodist do not differ in educational attainment from the "Other Protestants." Among Baptist-types, 55 percent (151) of the Baptists and 39 percent (52) of the Pentecostals have ten or more years of education ($x^2=4.21$, df=1, $p<.05$). Thus, Pentecostals are as poorly educated as the welfare non-affiliated population and much more poorly educated than those in the other churches. Pentecostal worship, consistent with the culture of the poorly educated, is an experience of spontaneously seeking the spirit with little call for the reading of prayers.

Variation among religions in educational level may come about in several ways. First, each of the religious groups may be considered relatively closed and as maintaining its own standards of education. Individuals born into the group attain that level and then continue as members. This presumes a stable socially distinct membership for each group. Second, there may be educational standards peculiar to each group. Individuals move through these groups as their educational levels change. A good demonstration of either model requires longitudinal data. The available data in this study is cross-sectional.

Impressionistic data gathered in unstructured interviews suggests some mobility between denominations. Thus, there is some basis for hypothesizing the second model. The movement between Catholic and Protestant groups is probably small compared with the movement across the boundaries of the Protestant denominations. Those with no religious affiliation are more likely to be children of Protestant than of Catholic homes. The non-affiliated may be considered peripheral Protestants. About four of five of the non-Catholic respondents are black. The analysis will emphasize the black Protestant and non-affiliated population.

An "ideal type" model of flow between these groups may be conjectured. Life style changes at each step are related to involvement with patrimonial support forms and orientation to market exchange--the basic dimension dividing the world of welfare from the world of work. They are also related to the place of the family in the community net of families and to regional backgrounds. Of course, a number of other dimensions determine an individual's or a family's position along an "ideal-typical" continuum.

Education is an aspect of life style. It implies disciplining the self, accepting canons of rationality, interest in the relatively abstract and adaptation to achievement values. The denominations may be ordered with respect to the proportion with ten or more years of education. Table IX-6 may be so arranged by reading down the welfare mothers column and then up the working mothers column. The following pattern is visible.

Labor Force Status/ Denomination	Percent With Ten Or More Years of Education
Welfare/non-affiliated	38
Welfare/Baptist-type	51
Welfare/Methodist-type	66
Working/Methodist-type	73
Working/Baptist-type	77
Working/non-affiliated	92

Among welfare mothers, the non-church affiliated are the least educated, and, among the working mothers, they are the most educated. These must constitute different social types. The welfare non-affiliated, being young, single mothers of low education, are, in a sense, the social "drop-outs" although they are not "drop-outs" from the maternal role. In fact, reproduction and child care seem to be a focal activity. The non-affiliated among the working population are relatively young, married and relatively highly educated. Putting their effort and talent into the world of work and into their families, churches have low priority for them. As young divorcees or separated women, they are actively pursuing the breadwinner role. In this sense, they may stand at opposite poles on some continuum between welfare dependency and independent support through work.

The Pentecostals constitute a boundary between the young and poorly educated, the welfare non-affiliated, and that part of the welfare society which is moving toward independence. They are not only a church among churches but are the gatekeepers between the non-affiliated and the world of churches. Their conversionist, salvationist emphasis suggests a recruiting role. For those who enter and receive the spirit, they begin the socializing process, teaching a work ethic and norms of personal virtue. The Methodist-type churches of the welfare mothers are one step more establishmentarian and serve those more committed to the organized traditional way of life under conditions of patrimonial economic relations. The women in these sects are slightly older, better educated and, if they do work, they may be more likely to enter a traditional service occupation. Between Methodist churches of welfare women and Methodist churches of working women is another bridge, another boundary. This boundary separates the patrimonial and the exchange economies. Here are also the beginnings of the racially integrated "Other Protestant," liberal Protestant churches. Not far removed, perhaps another step along the way, or perhaps on a parallel path, are the communities around the regular, main line black Baptist churches. The order is not fixed. In some communities, the life style represented by the working mothers in Baptist and Methodist churches may be reversed. For some, the bridge is from the Pentecostal to the main line Baptist.

The welfare mothers with no religious affiliation have few other affiliations. To cross the boundary from the main line Baptist churches of the working mothers to the non-affiliated working population is to step out of the world of churches. This highly educated, very young group is, in our sample, typified by the WIN participants--active, proletarianized women. They are securely integrated into the community and may be rebels against the establishmentarian religion.

Status Change and Religious Mobility

Mobility from one to another Protestant denomination is facilitated by status changes. It occurs in the broader population with maturing adolescence and at marriage. A marked economic change may also spur a change in denominational affiliation. Such change is facilitated by residential moves. Residential stability is related to the likelihood of being on welfare (IV-15). Seventy-seven percent (437) of the welfare mothers and 60% (102) of the working mothers had moved at least once in the five years prior to the study ($x^2=12.46$, df=1, $p < .001$). In fact, 25% of the welfare and 11% of the working mothers had moved four or more times in this period. On the average, a welfare family made 2.8 moves (s.d.=2.8) and a working family 2.1 moves (s.d.=2.0) in this period ($t=3.50$, $p < .001$).

Moving may require a change in church affiliation as well as facilitate a change for one seeking it. An individual or family moving from one house to another in the same general vicinity may change denomination. The churches may be ranged according to the levels of residential mobility of their affiliates. Table IX-7 shows the mean number of residences of welfare and working mothers in the five year period 1964-1969.

TABLE IX-7

NUMBER OF RESIDENCES OF WELFARE AND WORKING HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION (1964-1969)

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS	WELFARE MOTHERS			WORKING MOTHERS			
	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	
Catholic	3.1	1.8	99	2.0	1.4	23	t=3.14, $p < .01$
None	3.1	1.8	48	2.4	1.1	13	t=3.14, $p < .01$
Baptist-type	2.6	1.5	202	1.7	0.9	39	t=5.3, $p < .001$
Methodist-type	2.6	1.6	82	2.5	1.3	26	p=n.s.
		F=3.10, $p < .05$			F=2.70, $p < .05$		

Reading horizontally, for each religious group, excepting the Methodist-type, welfare households moved more than working households. Residential stability increases the likelihood of finding and holding a job. Generally, welfare families are less rooted than are the working families. Their concerns are more with the internal life of their families than with belonging to a community. Welfare recipients are more exposed to housing market pressures than are the working mothers. Failure to pay rent or repossession by owners add to their reasons for moving. Working mothers, as residents of projects, are more likely to remain in their allocated apartments than are welfare mothers renting on the free market. Welfare mothers have been more likely to be dispossessed by urban renewal projects. Work stability and residential stability are two faces of the same issue--the stability of social relations.

Reading vertically, the table shows that mobility differs significantly among religious groups. The slightly higher number of moves among Catholics on welfare could, of course, be related, in part, to the migration of Puerto Ricans. The relatively high mobility of the non-affiliated, in both the welfare and the working settings, is a direct expression of one meaning of non-affiliation--being uprooted from the community in terms of economic and friendship as well as religious ties. It is not immediately apparent why, within the working population, Baptist-types are more residentially stable than Methodist-types. Is it possible that those of southern rural background are more residentially mobile than those who are raised in a northern city? Perhaps, some Baptists move in response to an increase in income and exchange membership, say, in the National Baptist Church for membership in a racially integrated Presbyterian church or a United Methodist church (here all classed with Methodist-type). If so, those who remain Baptists would have moved less while those who, at the time of the study, were recent Methodists, would have moved more.

The data may be arranged in the same order as in the previous table--to wit:

Labor Force Status/Denomination	Mean Number of Residences
Welfare/non-affiliated	3.1
Welfare/Baptist-type	2.6
Welfare/Methodist-type	2.6
Working/Methodist-type	2.5
Working/Baptist-type	1.7
Working/non-affiliated	2.4

A residentially floating population may be a religiously floating population. As the population moves from the anomic welfare non-affiliated situation to the Pentecostal and Methodist, there is increasing residential stability. The similarity between welfare and working Methodist-types suggests that, again, this may be a boundary where the welfare world meets the working world. The working Baptist-type appears as the most residentially stable. Then, the working non-affiliated, a special "revolutionary" spin-off, consists of decidedly less residentially stable households--though, not as unstable as the non-affiliated among welfare recipients.

Aging is a continuous correlate of status change and, thus, might be related to denominational change. AFDC recipients are, by definition, relatively young. The program is designed to assist families with minor children. The working mothers' sample was selected for comparable conditions of dependency and matrifocality. Yet, the working mothers sampled tend to be older. Forty percent (434) of the welfare mothers are less than 27 years of age but only 19 percent (100) of the working mothers are this young (x^2=31.66, df=1, $p < .001$). Religion has different meanings for persons of various ages. Traditional religions expect one kind of participation from their young and another from their elderly. The public participants in various religious groups may vary in age--one congregation may be young, another elderly. Denominational age grading may occur in the same two ways as denominational educational stratification. Each denomination might serve relatively restricted age cohorts with individuals shifting affiliation as they mature. Alternatively, each denomination might have members of all ages but activate its members at different ages. For instance, worship might be allocated to mature members while the younger ones devote themselves to other social institutions. Research on age and church attendance often turns on this latter assumption--finding, for instance, that church attendance declines in early adulthood but increases later in life. The model here assumes permeability of boundaries with age groups shifting across them. Table IX-8 shows the proportion of working and welfare mothers below age 27 in each of the churches (I-60).

Welfare mothers are, in each case, excepting, perhaps, that of the Methodists, younger than working mothers. This remains a persistent finding, independent of religion. Reading vertically, age and religious affiliation are associated independently of labor force status. The youngest welfare mothers have no affiliation. Methodist-types are the oldest. Social participation, including church attendance, of young mothers, in particular young welfare mothers with small children, is generally limited.

TABLE IX-8

PROPORTION OF WELFARE AND WORKING MOTHERS LESS THAN AGE 27 ACCORDING TO RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
(in percents)

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION	PROPORTION LESS THAN AGE 27				
	Welfare Mothers		Working Mothers		
Catholic	38	(99)	17	(23)	x^2=3.6, df=1, $p<.10$
None	54	(48)	31	(13)	x^2=2.24,df=1, $p<.20$
Baptist-type	44	(200)	17	(38)	x^2=10.6,df=1, $p<.01$
Methodist-type	30	(82)	25	(26)	p=n.s.
	x^2=8.56 df=3 $p<.05$		x^2=1.63 df=3 p=n.s.		

Babies that hinder welfare mothers from working also prevent them from going to church. Among Baptist-type welfare mothers, 51 percent (51) of the Pentecostals and 42 percent (149) of the specifically Baptists are under 27 (x^2=n.s.) The Pentecostals are almost as young as the non-affiliated. This lends additional substance to the notion that they are socially proximate. Among the Methodist type, 36 percent (55) of the specifically Methodist and 19 percent (27) of the "Other Protestants" are that young (x^2=5.74, df=1, $p<.02$). The "Other Protestants" among welfare mothers are the oldest. Thus, both religion and welfare/work status are, independently, associated with age.

The narrow age range available for analysis of course limits the conclusions. Apparently, though, young welfare mothers find a place in the prophetic, spontaneous, healing-oriented and small quasi-familial Pentecostal churches. These churches are tuned to the absolutism and conversionist ardor of youth. If, as Benton Johnson says, these churches socialize in the dominant values, their members may eventually "graduate." A more settled and mature mother, perhaps concerned more for the religious education of her children and emotionally ready for a more ordered liturgy, may move to the Baptist or the Methodist church. Which of these two she selects may depend on whether she was raised in a rural southern or northern urban environment.

Why the greater interdenominational variability in age composition among welfare than among working mothers? Welfare mothers, who are also less residentially stable, may be more likely than working mothers to shift affiliation as they age. A religiously floating population would produce such an age distribution if age provided on occasion for shifting denominational affiliation.

The same order of data appears as in the previous table. Starting with the welfare mothers, 54 percent of the non-affiliated, 44 percent of the Baptist-type, 30 percent of the Methodist-type are age 27 or less. Continuing up the column for working mothers the successive figures are 25 percent, 17 percent, and 31 percent age 27 or less. Only the last reverses the direction.

The young, unwed mothers, neither part of a family nor a community, tend to swell the ranks of the non-affiliated. The Pentecostals (of the Baptist-type) appeal to the next oldest age cohort which is becoming more socially and religiously involved. Age may be nearly irrelevant as to whether the next step is to the Baptist or Methodist-type churches. Those remaining on welfare, particularly those with large families, may join sectarian Methodist groups. If they go to work, and especially if they have grown up in a northern city, they may join the United Methodist or the AME or, if they are quite mobile, they might move into the integrated Protestant churches. If their background is southern and rural and they become working mothers, they may shift to the more establishment black Baptists. On the other hand, if the orientation to labor, to proletarian-industrial relations, dominates, they bolt the established churches and become one of the working non-affiliated--a posture which seems to appeal to the younger working mothers.

Age is not in itself a causal variable. The churches themselves are not oriented intrinsically to age. Age is a proxy for social and cultural variables which happen to be age related. One of these is marital status. The social significance of the relation between age and church attendance and welfare/work status becomes clearer when the latter two variables are examined in the light of marital status (I-62). All of these mothers are heads of household. Twenty-eight percent of the welfare mothers (437) and 9 percent (102) of the working mothers have never been married ($x^2=16.18$, df=1, $p < .001$). The remainder have married and subsequently separated, formally or informally, or were divorced. A few are widowed. The welfare mothers are, on the whole, more likely never to have been married, but this is, to a great extent, a reflection of the larger numbers of very young women in the welfare population. Doctrinally, all of the religious groups resist the notion of unwed motherhood. The assumption of marital status is a ground for denominational change. Table IX-9 shows the proportion of welfare and working mothers in each religious group who have never been married.

In all denominations, perhaps, excepting the Methodists, the "never marrieds" are relatively more frequent in the welfare than in the working population. Of course, working mothers are, on the average, older than the welfare mothers and, consequently, more likely to have regularized their relations with a marriage.

Among welfare mothers, marital status varies significantly among denominations. Catholics are most likely to be or have been married. Two out of five non-affiliated welfare mothers have never been married. In contrast, all of the non-affiliated working mothers have been married. This reinforces earlier interpretations of the distinctiveness of these two categories of non-affiliation. Separation from the church has a different social

TABLE IX-9

PROPORTION OF WELFARE AND WORKING MOTHERS SINGLE (NEVER MARRIED) CLAIMING VARIOUS RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS
(in percents)

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION	WELFARE MOTHERS	WORKING MOTHERS	
Catholic	17 (100)	0 (23)	$x^2=2.40$, df=1, $p<.10$
None	40 (47)	0 (13)	$x^2=4.81$, df=1, $p<.05$
Baptist-type	31 (203)	8 (39)	$x^2=8.72$, df=1, $p<.01$
Methodist-type	28 (82)	23 (26)	x^2=n.s.

$x^2=10.49$
df=3
$p<.02$

meaning in each case. Being young, never married, on welfare and not involved in a church is to be in a socially anomic situation. These young girls have engaged neither economic, religious nor marital society. Being young, married, working and not attending church is to have an organized family and work-centered life which excludes church. Some exclude religion on principle while others give religious membership a lower priority than family and job responsibilities.

Again, the data may be ordered. Reading down the welfare column and up the working column, the proportions never married are 40 percent, 31 percent, 28 percent, 23 percent, 8 percent and 0 percent. The probabilities of being married increase with age so this finding is not independent of the correlation between age and religious affiliation. However, it interprets one type of status change correlated with age and again suggests a sequence of religious affiliations parallelling changing life style.

The Limited Relevance of Family

The presence of unmarried mothers in these churches means that they articulate with the family in some way different from the middle class churches. This population would not be so overwhelmingly church oriented were these churches not able to serve husbandless women. Middle class churches are organized around families. The single mother is in an ambiguous position. Individuals rather than families are the basic units of participation in these black churches, especially in the Pentecostal churches. Concern with the family, so apparent in these churches, deals with specific family dyads rather than with the family as an integral unit. Given the sundering of black families under the slave regime and its sequelae, this adaptation of religion must have been almost an historical imperative.

Worshippers in all of the black churches are predominantly female. Relations to the church are not as likely, as in white churches, to be mediated by males. The roles of pastor and sometimes of the chief elders tend to be allocated to males. Evangelical roles may be assumed by women. Church activities are female centered--revolving around choral performances and food preparation. Activities which in the middle class churches are the special provinces of the Women's Clubs, Ladies' Auxiliaries or Sisterhoods, are here directly carried out by the church as a body. A church, as a whole, sponsors, a charity bazaar, selling merchandise, or a picnic. With single, never married mothers as active church ladies, a "puritan" sex code, or preaching on the special virtues of marriage would be misplaced. Rather, emphasis is on personal virtues which ease social relationships.

The presence of single women facilitates a floating membership. Single individuals can shift church allegiance more easily when they do not have to deal with the allegiances of other members of their families. Further, members may shift church allegiances at the time they marry.

One of the principal discriminators between the welfare and the working populations throughout this report has been child dependency. The dependency variable is measured both in terms of the presence of small children and of the number of children irrespective of their age. While 74 percent (427) of the welfare households have at least one preschool child, 37 percent (102) of the working households do ($x^2=54.3$, df=1, $p < .001$). Certainly, this would seem to be another case of status change, a measure of a stage in the life cycle and so might also correlate with religious affiliation. Table IX-10 shows the proportion among welfare and working mothers in each religious group having children under six at home (I-63).

TABLE IX-10

PROPORTION OF WELFARE AND WORKING MOTHERS
HAVING ANY CHILDREN UNDER SIX AT HOME
(in percents)

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION	WELFARE MOTHERS		WORKING MOTHERS		
Catholic	73	(100)	39	(23)	$x^2= 7.2$, df=1, $p < .01$
None	67	(48)	62	(13)	x^2=n.s.
Baptist-type	77	(201)	30	(36)	$x^2=31.5$, df=1, $p < .001$
Methodist-type	72	(79)	42	(24)	$x^2= 7.52$, df=1, $p < .01$
	x^2=n.s.		x^2=n.s.		

In all cases but that of the non-affiliated, the working mothers have significantly fewer children then welfare mothers. The family situation of non-affiliated working mothers is quite similar to that of welfare mothers. The differences between the religious groups are slight and not statistically significant. Could it be that the life style differences among religious groups are unrelated to intrafamilial situations? Is it that the significant life style difference to which religion is related involves relations more broadly communal?

Religious considerations have traditionally been significant with respect to fulfillment of the maternal role. Islam, for instance, sets particularly stringent restrictions on female exposure which restricts employment outside the home. The Orthodox Judaism of the European "shtetl" was quite sanguine about allowing wives to mind the store while the husbands gained honor in study. The contrast between the familial orientation of Italian Catholics and the individualistic work ethic orientation of Calvinists is a familiar one. All of these illustrations are drawn from the situation of complete families. This particular population is matrifocal. The decision as to the relative importance of maternal versus economic functions is not a decision as to who would occupy each role. This is the question to which religion has traditionally spoken. Here the issue is one of primacy in the orientation of the mother. The existence of the choice is practically a definitional distinction between the patrimonial economy of the world of welfare and the exchange economy of the world of work. Traditionally, religion has pressed the woman to give primacy to the maternal role. Economic functions, presumably, would be met through other branches of the extended family.

Perhaps, the previous test, being related so intimately to stage in the family life cycle, was not the appropriate one. Commitment to the maternal role might better be reflected in the number of children a woman has. Table IX-11 compares welfare and working mothers of the several religious classifications in terms of family size (I-65).

TABLE IX-11

PROPORTION OF WELFARE AND WORKING MOTHERS
WITH THREE OR MORE DEPENDENT CHILDREN
(in percents)

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION	WELFARE MOTHERS		WORKING MOTHERS		
None	65	(48)	46	(13)	$x^2=2.9$, df=1, $.05 < p < .10$
Catholic	65	(100)	26	(23)	$x^2=11.6$, df=1, $p < .001$
Baptist-type	60	(202)	28	(39)	$x^2=12.4$, df=1, $p < .001$
Methodist-type	63	(82)	38	(26)	$x^2=5.0$, df=1, $p < .05$
	$x^2=1.40$ df=3 p=n.s.		$x^2=2.28$ df=3 p=n.s.		

Again, number of dependent children in the family significantly differentiates the welfare from the working population but is not influenced by religion. Similarly, religion does not influence the opinion of these mothers regarding the ideal number of children a family in their circumstances should have (IV-28). Religion is irrelevant to the internal composition of the family, to number of children and to ideal number of children, but does affect the proportion of families that will legally or sacramentally legitimate the husband/wife relation, thus becoming important relative to that aspect of family life which links the family to other societal institutions.

The steps in the conjectured sequential model begin with the anomic, poorly educated, young unwed mother with no church affiliation. She is buffeted from pillar to post in her attempts to establish a stable home. The Pentecostal sects reach out with their emotional inspirational family feeling and draw her into a circle where the simple virtues are taught and life begins to focus around an ideology. This ideology deals with her relation to her child but makes little demand on her to marry. As she matures and perhaps marries, one of the smaller Methodist groups may become a more comfortable setting. With better education, she is likely to be more stable residentially, accept a job and marry. If, in addition, she has been raised in a northern city, she may affiliate with a Methodist-type church, an AME or AME-Zion congregation or even an integrated Presbyterian or United Methodist Church. If, on the other hand, her background is southern rural, she may settle into an established Baptist denomination such as the National Baptist Church. The marriage may not last, but if she continues to work and has not had more than two or three children, she will maintain the life style associated with these churches. She will be a member of the stable working poor, engaged in a traditional occupation and attending an establishment church. If, by this time, she is over thirty, this may well become a rather permanent position. If her education is relatively high and she has an active personality, marries and enters a more modernizing work setting, she may set the establishment churches aside and be assertively non-affiliated. She is more likely to assert this while young and even while she has preschool children. Thus, at each stage, the religious culture and life style mesh in a single cultural pattern. Religious life is the public expression of these poverty life styles. It affects their family status, insofar as there are public statuses--those which define the place of the family in the community. Religion is less involved in such internal family matters as dependency or size of family.

Religion and Economic Aspects of Life Style

Little differential in income exists between the welfare and the working populations as a whole. They differ in sources of income and in patterns of expenditure. Both of these are intimately related to differences in life style. That aspect of life style expressed by religious affiliation overlaps with but is not identical with that reflected in sources of income and patterns of expenditure.

To the extent that the combinations of religious affiliations and labor force status may be ordered as a ladder, that ladder corresponds roughly with levels of total income. Total income, in many cases, combines public assistance, earnings and personal gifts. The presence of preschool children influences the amount of welfare assistance received. Thus, groups having a similar dependency status should be compared. Table IX-12 compares mean total income for the welfare and working mothers of each denomination among those having at least one child under six at home.

TABLE IX-12

MEAN TOTAL INCOME OF WELFARE AND WORKING MOTHERS ACCORDING TO RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AMONG THOSE HAVING AT LEAST ONE DEPENDENT CHILD UNDER SIX (in dollars)

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION	WELFARE MOTHERS			WORKING MOTHERS			
	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	
Catholic	305.31	109.9	72	404.66	173.9	9	t=4.4, p<.001
None	297.43	129.1	32	381.87	55.0	8	t=2.8, p< .01
Baptist-type	333.30	138.0	155	323.09	41.5	11	p=n.s.
Methodist-type	348.95	158.8	57	383.30	92.7	10	p=n.s.
	F=1.73, p=n.s.			F=1.15, p=n.s.			

Non-affiliated working mothers have considerably higher total incomes than non-affiliated welfare mothers, further evidence that these non-affiliates constitute different social types. Catholic working mothers, largely white and black, have higher incomes than Catholic welfare mothers, who include many Puerto Ricans. No differences appear between the welfare and working mothers attending Baptist-type and Methodist-type churches.

The order of data to which we have become accustomed is maintained with one exception. Reading down the welfare column and up the working column, mean total incomes are $297, $333, $349, $383, $323 and $382, respectively. We would have expected the figure of $323 for the Baptist-type working mothers to have been some $60 higher. With the variability of these means, as indicated by the large standard deviations, it is difficult to attach importance to this discrepancy. Since this group has the fewest dependent children (see Table IX-11), it might simply reflect their lower AFDC allotment.

The income of working mothers is almost entirely earned. Welfare mothers supplement their benefit income by earnings, and the extent of these earnings reflects the measure of their involvement in the economy of work. Table IX-13 shows the mean amounts earned by welfare recipients during the month prior to the 1970 interview.

TABLE IX-13

MEAN TOTAL EARNED WORKING BY WELFARE MOTHERS
OF DIFFERENT RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS
WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN UNDER SIX
(in dollars)

AFFILIATION	MEAN TOTAL EARNED WORKING		
	Mean	SD	N
Catholic	43.0	103.0	72
None	28.3	81.4	32
Baptist-type	67.4	120.1	165
Methodist-type	70.0	131.2	57

$F=15.2$
$p < .001$

Women attending Baptist-type and Methodist-type churches earn more by working than do Catholics and non-affiliates. The order among these amounts is as we have come to anticipate. Church involvement corresponds to emerging into the world of exchange relations. Welfare mothers not involved in the church also tend not to be involved in the exchange economy. The Catholics, traditionally oriented Puerto Rican mothers, also work very little. The Baptist-type Pentecostal groups are again the bridge to serious participation in the working world. Those affiliated with Methodist-type churches are the most involved in the economy--the most modernizing. This is quite consistent with the conjectured model.

The allocation of a family's expenditures reflects its preferred style of life. Only one item will be noted here -- food. The proportion of a family's total expenditure spent on food indicates the extent of it, orientation toward internal management. Table IX-14 shows the mean proportions of total expenditures for food among welfare and working mothers in each religious group.

TABLE IX-14

FOOD AS A PERCENT OF TOTAL EXPENDITURES
(means)

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION	WELFARE MOTHERS			WORKING MOTHERS			
	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	
Catholic	34.9	16.4	99	25.3	9.1	13	t=3.76, p .001
None	33.3	12.5	48	24.0	8.2	23	t=3.11, p .01
Baptist-type	30.5	11.5	203	27.3	11.0	39	t=1.63, p= n.s.
Methodist-type	30.6	10.1	82	29.5	11.8	26	t= .42, p= n.s.
	F=3.16 p .05			F=.03 p=n.s.			

Welfare mothers, in general, expend a larger proportion on food. This is but partly accounted for by their larger family size. The difference is most marked between welfare and working Catholics and non-affiliates, further evidence that we are dealing with disparate populations in these two cases. The lack of difference between working and welfare Methodists again points up the boundary character of this particular denomination.

The order of denominations when ranked by proportionate food expenditure remains the familiar one. Reading down the welfare column and up the working column the percentages are, respectively, 33.3, 30.5, 30.6, 29.5, 27.3 and 24.0. This is consistent with the conjecture that, in this order, there is a gradual decrease in orientation to life within the home. Presumably, it corresponds to increasing orientation to the community as a whole, to the net of social relations outside the home (6).

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[6] A concluding word is in order about the two non-affiliated categories. In all instances, excepting that of family dependency, they have appeared as polar types. The working non-affiliates are less oriented to the home. This is reflected in their attitudes toward housework. Twenty-three percent (48) of welfare non-affiliates and 33 percent (13) of the working non-affiliates say they dislike housework (IV-45) (x^2=n.s.). At the same time, 71 percent (48) of the welfare but 92 percent (13) of the working non-affiliates would resist delegation of child care responsibilities even if there were an acceptable alternative (IV-51) ($x^2=16.67$, df=1, $p < .001$). Despite their dislike of housework, the working non-affiliates are assertively independent in relation to their children.

Beyond the Economics of Life Style

The life style difference associated with the religious denominations is not identical with that reflected in the expenditure budget in Chapter VIII. That analysis reflected the contrast between welfare and working life style elements which impact on cash flow. The differences among religious groups may not have so clear an economic indicator. The boundary between welfare non-affiliates and Pentecostals is crossed by those being rescued from social anomie by a fervent charismatic movement. The principal adjustment in their lives concerns an ordering and focusing of emotion, a growing commitment to simple virtues and, perhaps most important, the discovery of kindred "saints" who open a social vista for the lonely and confused unwed mother and her child. Within the whole scheme of black religion, this is accomplished by those black churches which formed through a process of structural differentiation to specialize in healing and pastoral support for dyadic family relations. This is true for the sectarian Methodist-type black churches as well. Regionalism and rural/urban background seem to determine whether the Methodist or the Baptist structurally differentiated churches are chosen. The big step is across the boundary to the schismatic black churches; for the Methodists this is the transition to the AME and for the Baptists to the National Baptists. These churches are black mirror images of the white parent churches--allowing for the effects of independent development outlined in Appendix C. The move is often associated with the assumption of financial independence, with engagement of the exchange economy. Their vision becomes less restricted to the family and more open to communal values, the values of good social work, and of efforts for the common weal. Within these settings, the poor working mothers accept traditional personal service work in their weekday lives and live as middle class ladies on Sunday.

This does not exhaust the possible life styles. The diagram in Appendix C shows that all of the churches considered here are adaptive with respect to the economy. Another class of structurally differentiated churches is oriented more to the polity. In a mild way, the working non-affiliated echo this direction. On the whole, though this is a possible life style, it is empirically rare in this setting of impoverished matrifocal households. Perhaps an orientation to political life and black consciousness requires a more male dominated society than is found in this world of struggling women and their children. The WIN trainees, proletarianized, politicized, bow faintly in that direction.

They differ in their attitude toward the welfare system. Fifty-two percent (48) of the welfare but 100 percent (13) of the working non-affiliated take a relatively strict position about giving welfare assistance to one who might be able to help herself (IV-64) ($x^2=6.9$, df=1, $p<.02$). The latter hold strict standards.

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CHAPTER X

ILLNESS AND THE LEGITIMATION OF FAILURE

Stephen Cole and Robert Lejeune

Health appears as one of the more significant reasons given by welfare mothers for not being in the labor force. Some are not seeking work because of a disability, others because they are pregnant and others because they are caring for a disabled person.

Illness has different meanings to a physiologist, a psychologist and a sociologist. A physiologist views illness as a breakdown in the normal functioning of the organism; a psychologist views illness as a condition preventing the individual from satisfying his needs. To the sociologist, illness is a form of behavior in which the individual is legitimately exempt from his normal role obligations. Two decades ago, Parsons, following the psychoanalytic model, noted that people who are ill sometimes become unconsciously motivated to retain the "privileges and exemptions of the sick role." (Parsons, 1951, p. 437.) In a subsequent examination of the problem, Parsons hypothesized that the high level of achievement demanded of individuals in American society might accentuate the unconscious desire to use ill health as means of exempting oneself from normal role obligations (Parsons, 1958). Parsons' paper contained the implicit hypothesis that illness is a result not only of physiological conditions, but also of socio-psychological conditions.

Since the sick person is exempt from living up to normal role expectations, illness may help people who cannot cope with their obligations to legitimate this failure in their own eyes.

In this chapter we shall analyze the relation between illness and self-defined failure as it appears among welfare mothers. Is it not possible in a performance-oriented society like America that illness may be used as a means of legitimating failure to adequately perform socially prescribed roles? Typically, illness is seen as a contributor to failure. For example, sickness may be one factor leading to downward mobility. We should like to raise the possibility that the direction of causality in this relationship may not be one way. Although illness sometimes precipitates failure, failure may sometimes precipitate illness(1).

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[1] The notion that failure may precipitate illness is implicit in some psychoanalytic theory. This idea was implicit in Freud's theory of the development of hysterical symptoms.

Sociologically, a person is ill when he takes the sick role, i.e., he acts sick. Thus, the reasons that lead people to think of themselves as being sick or healthy are important. Clearly, the "objective" physiological condition of one's body plays a major part in self-defining health (2). However, both medical doctors and social scientists have become increasingly aware that physiological and social-psychological factors are empirically intertwined in determining both "objective" and"subjective" states of health. (Crandell and Dohrenwend, 1967; Hinkle, et al, 1956; Mechanic and Volkart, 1961; Wolff, 1958; Zola, 1968.) In this paper, we shall discuss just one social-psychological component of subjective health definition. The data presented in this paper bear on the hypothesis that inability to fulfill socially defined role obligations is one factor leading people to define their health as poor. In order to explore this hypothesis, we shall examine how definition of health is related to adjustment by mothers to being on welfare. We shall also analyze the relationship between definition of health and performance of roles as wife and mother among a sample of working-class black women.

The data of the Camden study are supplemented by data from two other studies: The first study was conducted in New York City in the summer of 1966. The National Opinion Research Center interviewed a probability sample of 2,179 female heads of households who were receiving family public assistance in New York City in April, 1966.* The second study was conducted in New York City in the summer of 1968. National Analysts interviewed a quota sample of 412 working class black mothers living in several public housing projects (3). We begin the analysis with a discussion of the significance of being on welfare in America (4).

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* For a detailed description of this sample see Richard Pomeroy in collaboration with Robert Lejeune and Lawrence Podell, Studies in the Use of Health Services by Families on Welfare, The Center for the Study of Urban Problems, Baruch College, The City University of New York, 1969; also Robert Lejeune, Illness Behavior Among the Urban Poor, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1968.

[2] In clear-cut cases of physiological breakdown, such as terminal cancer, physiological factors are the most important determinant of behavior. However, in less than clear-cut cases, individuals with the same physiological condition may behave quite differently.

[3] For a detailed description of this sample see Lawrence Podell and Richard Pomeroy, Studies in the Use of Health Services by Families on Welfare: Special Population Comparisons, The Center for the Study of Urban Problems, Baruch College, The City University of New York, 1969.

[4] We must preface the presentation of data bearing on our hypotheses by stating at the beginning that we are aware of the several methodological inadequacies of these studies. To begin with we are dubious of the meaning of social surveys of lower-class people. Often words and questions mean different things to poor people and the middle-class sociologists who construct the questionnaires or the lower-middle-class interviewers who administer them.

Welfare as Deviance

In America, being on welfare is thought of as a form of deviance and bears a stigma. Aside from the everyday physical and psychological deprivations of welfare life, the status of welfare client is also a constant reminder of failure in a society that places a high value on economic independence. And although the norm of economic independence is more strongly applied to men than to women, female recipients of welfare assistance are stigmatized over and beyond the stigmata attached to poverty, lack of education and minority status (5). Hence, the stigma of failure is twofold: they have failed as women to attract men who can support them; they have failed as individuals by not being able to support themselves in the absence of a man. These women often have a third stigma: that of having illegitimate children.

It is unlikely that there are any welfare recipients who have not been repeatedly exposed--both in their personal interactions and through the mass media--to the view that they are immoral and undeserving. Indeed, there are indications that a substantial number of AFDC mothers share this view of themselves. Thus, 71 percent of the New York sample agreed with the statement: "A lot of people getting money from welfare don't deserve it." Another 10 percent did not know or would not reply and only 19 percent disagreed with the statement (6). If it is objected that some of the welfare mothers merely wanted to give the "expected" or "right" answer rather than state their true opinion, this confirms the point we are making: that welfare recipients know that the dominant culture defines their status as illegitimate. Therefore, while we cannot tell from these replies to what extent and with what intensity welfare mothers accept the view of themselves as undeserving, it is likely that they are aware of the stigma attached to their status and are probably prone to question the claims of need of other welfare recipients. Thus, it is not surprising that 55 percent of the New York welfare mothers agreed that "getting money from welfare makes a person feel ashamed." And fully 87 percent agreed that "people should be grateful for the money they get from welfare."

Another flaw is the fact that two of the surveys use quota type samples rather than random samples and we are thus prevented from generalizing from these samples to the population. What gives us confidence in the plausibility of our conclusions is not so much the size of the associations but their consistency. The hypotheses were developed on the basis of findings from the New York welfare sample and we were able to test them on the other two surveys.

[5] There is a great deal of ambivalence about the role of the working woman in America. Although women are sometimes expected to work, they are not expected to achieve too much. Whereas middle-class women may be urged to stay home and take care of their children, welfare mothers are treated as "lazy boondogglers" if they don't work. On the cultural ambivalence towards working women see Coser and Rokoff (1971).

[6] Response to this question might in part be due to invidious comparisons that welfare mothers are likely to make of their own financial status and that of others they know on welfare. Each respondent may think that she deserves welfare more than others.

The Camden welfare mothers expressed similar opinions about receiving public assistance. Fifty-seven percent said it was more often true than false that "people I know look down on welfare" (III-50), and 34 percent admitted directly that "there are times when I have been embarrassed in front of my family or friends because of being on welfare" (III-51). Another indicator of whether or not the welfare mothers think of being on welfare as a type of deviance is provided by their opinions about the conditions under which welfare should be available. For example, 84 percent of the Camden mothers believed that welfare should not be available "if there is one parent (female) and she does not try to keep up her home" (IV-63). We can conclude that at least a substantial proportion of mothers on welfare accept the stigma attached to the status by the general culture (7).

Furthermore, even among those who are most convinced of their right to receive welfare assistance, there is still likely to be some ambivalence toward the welfare status. Although the welfare mother is in need of the welfare checks to provide food, clothing and shelter for herself and her children, she perceives society as questioning the legitimacy of her need. She is, therefore, likely to experience varying degrees of external and internal pressures to "get off welfare," though the reality of her situation--no husband, several children, and limited occupational skills--makes this alternative less viable than continuing on welfare.

How do welfare mothers cope with the knowledge of their stigma? One way by which some welfare clients may reduce the conflict between their need for public assistance and their perception of the welfare status as an undesirable and degrading condition is by maintaining the expectation that they will be off welfare in the future. That many consider welfare dependency to be a temporary condition is indicated by the fact that only 25 percent of the New York women thought that they would "surely be on welfare" and another 33 percent thought that they would "probably be on welfare" a year from the time of the interview. Fifty-two percent either did not know whether they would be on welfare or thought that they would not be on welfare (8). As it turned out, one year from the time of the interview, 89 percent of the respondents were still receiving public assistance in New York City. Furthermore, it is likely that the majority of those who left the rolls in the one-year period--judging from case histories--will be back on again at some later point in time. Sixty-one percent of the New York women replied in the affirmative to the question: "Do you think you will ever (again) work for pay?" While work is not the only way by which welfare mothers may regain economic independence,

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[7] These data indicate that attitudes expressed by welfare rights organizations are not held by a great majority of welfare recipients. We should like at this point to make explicit that we do not consider welfare mothers to be deviants; rather this is the view of many Americans and the data indicate that many welfare mothers internalize this view of themselves. For a sociological analysis of the significance of "stigma" see Erving Goffman (1963).

[8] The question was: "Do you think that a year from now you will surely be on welfare, probably be on welfare, probably not be on welfare?"

it is certainly the most important way for the majority who are husbandless or whose husbands' earnings are inadequate to support the family.

In his classic paper, "Social Structure and Anomie," Robert K. Merton (1957) tried to explain rates of deviance in American society by looking at the relation between the internalization of the dominant goal of individual success and the availability of legitimate means of achieving this goal. Merton hypothesized that most Americans come to believe that they should constantly strive for upward mobility. However, the means of achieving mobility are not as readily available to members of the lower socio-economic groups. Given the poor objective chances for most welfare mothers to succeed in an economy demanding higher and higher levels of training, we would expect a large majority of welfare recipients to have abandoned hope. The fact that the opposite is true is a strong attestation to the continued strength of the dominant goal of success. About 70 percent of both the New York and the Camden welfare samples say that they would rather work than stay at home. In America, even the most down-and-out people continue to believe that they can make it.

The mothers who say that they will not work in the future have basically abandoned hope of getting off welfare. They are the ones whom we hypothesize may be the most likely to use poor health as a means of legitimizing their self-defined deviant status.

The Legitimation of Dependency

A woman who defines welfare as deviant but who thinks of her own welfare status as temporary may feel no need to justify her dependency; but a woman who has given up hope of leaving a self-defined deviant status is likely to have a strong need to justify it. Thus, it is our hypothesis that mothers who no longer think of welfare as a temporary status will be the most likely to use illness as a means of justifying to themselves and others their self-defined social failure.

Before presenting data bearing on this hypothesis, we must consider two problems. The first concerns the degree of consciousness involved in using illness as a means of legitimating dependency. Although some mothers may consciously use poor health as an "excuse" for being on welfare, we do not think that this is typical. What is more likely is that a woman feels the need to justify her status to herself and gradually adopts the sick role (9). Over a period of time, she comes to feel and act as if she were in fact sick (10). She is likely to develop a series of psychosomatic symptoms.

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[9] Lewis Coser has pointed out to us that Max Scheler comes to essentially similar conclusions. See Max Scheler, "Die Psychologie der sogenannten Rentenhysterie und der rechte Kampf gegen das Uber," in Vom Umsturz der Werte (Bern, Switzerland: Franke Verlag, 1955), 293-310.

[10] It is also possible that the deprivation of welfare life may contribute to a deterioration in physiological condition.

Data to support this interpretation were collected by Margaret Olendzki (1965), who studied 1,976 applicants for public assistance in Manhattan (11). As part of that study, a check-list of medical conditions was presented to each of the 1,976 applicants. The most frequently mentioned health complaint was found to be "nerves," reported by 45 percent of the respondents who were the heads of family and thus correspond most closely to the respondents in our samples; we have cross-tabulated the "suffering from nerves" complaint with the question Olendzki asked on self-defined health.

It turns out that defining one's health as poor is highly associated with the presence of emotional complaints. Sixty-nine percent of the welfare applicants who said that their health was poor also reported that they "suffered from nerves." Nearly as high a proportion of those thinking that their health was fair--61 percent--gave this complaint. The proportion who suffered from nerves among those who said they were in good and excellent health was smaller, though not unsubstantial: 35 percent and 27 percent respectively. Although these complaints do not necessarily indicate the percent of mental illness, neither can they be dismissed as a search for sympathy from the interviewers. In a subsample (N=255) of Olendzki's respondents who were subsequently examined by physicians, in 93 percent of the cases, the physicians separately concurred with the respondent's self-diagnosis. The meaning of "suffering from nerves" is further clarified by examining its symptoms. To do this, we constructed a crude index of emotional and psychosomatic symptoms from four of the questions asked in the Olendzki study:

"Do you have trouble sleeping?"

"Are you continually troubled by aches and pains?"

"Do you feel tired all the time for no special reason?"

"Have you recently been very depressed and blue?"

An arbitrary weight of one was assigned to each of the above items if answered in the affirmative. The score on this index and reporting "suffering from nerves" were highly associated. (See Table X-1.) We would conclude that welfare mothers who say they are sick probably are really sick; however, sociopsychological factors may play at least as great a role as physiological factors in the development of their illnesses.

TABLE X-1

PERCENT "SUFFERING FROM NERVES" BY
SCORE ON INDEX OF EMOTIONAL SYMPTOMS
(Family Cases--Olendzki Welfare Sample)

Index of Emotional Symptoms		Percent
Low	0	26 (286)
	1	48 (193)
	2	62 (151)
	3	75 (97)
High	4	86 (65)

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[11] We thank Dr. Olendzki for making her data available to us for analysis.

This brings us to the second and more serious problem, that of the causal connection between future work intention and definition of health. "Objective" health is likely to be one variable influencing the position of the welfare mother in the job market and thus influencing whether or not she abandons hope of getting off welfare. The question then is whether defining one's health precedes or follows the abandoning of hope. To begin with, we should like to argue the futility of attempting to pull apart empirically the various forces at work here. We do not claim that there exists a clear time sequence in which a woman gives up hope of getting off welfare and then adopts the sick role. Both these adaptations probably occur simultaneously over a long period of time. What we would take issue with, however, is the interpretation that a physiological condition necessarily precedes both these adaptations. To adequately prove our contention, we would need a series of medical examinations over time. In the absence of this ideal test, we shall present some data in which we control for other, perhaps more objective, indicators of health.

With these problems in mind, we can present the data bearing on our main hypothesis--that women who have given up hope of getting off welfare will be more likely than those who maintain hope to define their health as poor. In the New York survey, we found that expectation not to work was correlated (r=.22) with definition of health (12). Women who did not expect to work were more likely to define their health as poor. This correlation would be spurious if it disappeared when we controlled for any of the background variables influencing work expectations such as education, age, and a more objective indicator of health. This does not happen. When we remove the variance due to education, the partial correlation of work expectations and definition of health is p/r=.18. Similarly, when the variance due to age was removed, the relationship between work expectations and definition of health was only slightly reduced (p/r=.17). Although we have no adequate indicator of "objective" health, we did have data on the number of times the respondent reported she was ill during the last year. This also is a subjective measure of health. It is far from perfectly correlated with definition of health (r=.49) and thus probably measures at least a different aspect of health conception. When the variance due to this variable was removed, the correlation between work expectation and definition of health was hardly changed (p/r=.20). Tabular presentation of the data indicates that within each category of number of illness, women who do not expect to work in the future are more likely than those expecting to work to define their health as fair or poor.

Similar results were found in the Camden survey. Here we had two questions that were intended to measure the attitudes of the welfare mothers towards their health. Women who were not currently working were asked why.

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[12] The question was worded: "Do you think you will ever again work for pay?" Here, for simplicity of presentation we have used correlation coefficients rather than tables. We do this despite the fact that occasionally the data do not meet all the assumptions necessary for correlation analysis.

One of the choices was "not interested in working at present time--health reason or handicap" (II-69). Women who did not expect to work in the future were more likely to give this reason (r=.27) (13). Another question asked: "What part does your health play in your decision not to work or in the kind of work you can take?" (II-71). Women who did not expect to work in the future were more likely to say that health played a part in their decision (r=.20).

In the Camden study we also had data that allowed us to test several hypotheses concerning the conditions under which welfare mothers are likely to use poor health as a means of legitimating their dependency. We have reasoned that welfare mothers think of being on welfare as a form of failure or deviance and that when they give up hope of leaving the deviant status, they have a need to justify their permanent dependency. However, certainly not all welfare recipients accept the stigma generally attached to their position. If we are correct, then we should find that among those women who do not expect to work in the future, those who define welfare as deviant should be more likely to take the sick role. As an indicator of attitudes towards welfare, we have used the score on an index of questions concerning the conditions under which welfare should be available (IV-64) (14). Those who believe that welfare should not be available unless the recipient lives up to certain rigorous moral standards are likely to feel that being on welfare is deviant. As the data in Table X-2 indicate, among welfare mothers who reject the dominant cultural view of welfare (in the table those who have "lenient" attitudes towards the availability of welfare) future work expectations (II-70) is only slightly associated with definition of health. However, among those women who accept the dominant cultural view of welfare (in the table those who have "strict" attitudes towards the availability of welfare), those who do not expect to work give poor health as a reason. Clearly, both conditions, defining one's status as deviant and seeing that status as permanent, contribute to the adoption of the sick role.

TABLE X-2

PERCENT GIVING HEALTH AS REASON FOR PREFERRING NOT TO WORK
BY ATTITUDES TOWARD WELFARE AND EXPECTATION TO WORK IN FUTURE
(Camden Welfare Sample)

Percent Giving Health as Reason for Preferring Not to Work		
Expect to be Working in the Future	Availability of Welfare	
	"Lenient"	"Strict"
Yes	10 (106)	12 (137)
No	15 (88)	26 (94)

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[13] The question was worded: "In the near future (whether or not you are working now) would you prefer a full-time job or would you prefer to stay at home?"

[14] The index was composed of the following questions: "Assuming jobs are available, do you think that welfare should be available to families in the following situations? a) If there are a lot of children and the parent cannot support them adequately. b) If the parent is able bodied and will only work

A counter theory to explain the data of Table X-2 would lead us to reason that poor health leads a woman to give up hope of working in the future. The data offer partial support for this theory as women who do not expect to work in the future are in both columns more likely to give poor health as a reason for preferring not to work. However, the counter theory fails to explain why attitudes towards welfare specify the relation between work expectations and giving health as a reason for preferring not to work. If poor health leads women to give up hope of working, why are women who accept the dominant view of welfare as deviant more likely to view their health as poor than are those who reject the view that welfare is deviant?

Age, Family Cycle, and Legitimation of Dependency

One condition that creates a need for a welfare mother to legitimate her dependency is acceptance of the dominant cultural view that welfare recipients are failures. It is a primary hypothesis of this paper that welfare mothers who think of themselves as failures will try to legitimate their failures by taking the sick role. However, one condition that will influence the likelihood of adopting the sick role is the family-life cycle. The primary rationale for AFDC is that unmarried mothers must be supported so that they can stay home and take care of their children. As long as a woman has a pre-school child she can easily legitimate her dependency by believing that she cannot go out and work because she must stay home to take care of her children. Indeed in the New York sample, 77 percent of the women who preferred not to work gave the need to care for children as a reason. It is initially surprising to find that only 19 percent of those preferring not to work gave illness as a reason. However, it must be remembered that the respondents were exclusively women. Their primary role obligations as women center around expressive family rather than instrumental work roles. We would therefore expect that welfare recipients would be more likely to define their health as poor when they no longer have pre-school children.

In both the New York and Camden samples the age of a mother's youngest child (I-63) was associated with giving health as a reason for preferring not to work. (See Table X-3.) Hardly any mother with pre-school children, but a

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(cont.) if she can get the type of work desired. c) If the parent is able bodied and simply does not feel like working. d) If there is one parent (female) and she does not want to work (for any reason). e) If there is one parent (female) and she feels that the mother's place is at home. f) If there is one parent (female) and she does not try to keep up her home." Those women who said that welfare should not be available in five or six of these situations are classified as having "strict" attitudes towards the availability of welfare. Those saying that welfare should not be available in four or less of these situations were classified as having "lenient" attitudes toward the availability of welfare.

TABLE X-3

PERCENT GIVING HEALTH REASONS FOR PREFERRING
NOT TO WORK BY AGE OF YOUNGEST CHILD
(Only Those Preferring Not to Work)

New York Welfare Sample

	Age of Youngest Child		
	0-5	6-10	11 or Older
Percent Giving Health Reason For Preferring Not to Work	9 (401)	20 (143)	53 (120)

Camden Welfare Sample

	Age of Youngest Child	
	Under 6	6 or Older
Percent Giving Health Reason for Preferring Not to Work	14 (145)	42 (38)

substantial proportion of those with school-age children, gave poor health as a reason why they preferred not to work. Whereas age of youngest child is associated positively with giving poor health as a reason for preferring not to work, it is associated negatively with giving child care as a reason for preferring not to work. Thus, in Camden of those women not expecting to work in the future, 72 percent of those with children under 6 and 42 percent of those with children 6 or over gave child care as the reason why they preferred to stay home. As long as a mother has young children, her dependency may be seen as a result of an "objective" condition--the need to care for her children. However, if the response is primarily determined by an objective need, then women who expect to work in the future should have a similar response pattern to those who do not. As the data in Table X-4 indicate, this is not the case. Of those women with children under the age of six, those who do not expect to work in the future are more than twice as likely to give child care as a reason for preferring not to work at the present time. Both groups face the same objective situation--that of having young children who require

TABLE X-4

PERCENT GIVING CHILD CARE AS REASON FOR PREFERRING
NOT TO WORK BY AGE OF YOUNGEST CHILD AND
EXPECTATION OF WORKING IN THE FUTURE
(Camden Welfare Sample)

Percent Giving Child Care as Reason for Preferring Not to Work		
Expect to be Working	Age of Youngest Child	
in the future	Under 6	6 or Over
Yes	31 (168)	11 (74)
No	72 (145)	42 (38)

care. However, mothers who have not given up hope of getting off welfare and therefore have less of a need to legitimate the permanent occupancy of a deviant status are more likely to think of alternative ways of caring for their children, such as day-care centers and leaving them with a relative or neighbor (III-7). This leads us to hypothesize that the objective need for child care serves to justify dependency in the same way as the "objective" condition of illness.

A possible source of error in our interpretation of the data could be the correlation between age of youngest child and age of the mother (I-60). Women who have no pre-school children are generally older than those who do. It is possible that the finding of Table X-3 is spurious. The finding might be an artifact of the "self-evident" fact that older people are more likely to be sick and "therefore" less employable (15). As a more conclusive test of the above hypothesis, it is desirable to separate the physiological and social components of aging. In Table X-5 the relation between age and giving poor health as a reason for preferring not to work is shown, with the number of reported illnesses in the past year held constant (16). As expected, with increasing age welfare mothers are more likely to give poor health as a reason for preferring not to work. What is more interesting however is the fact that this association is found even among those respondents who earlier in the interview had reported that they had not been sick at all in the past year. Thus, even though the number of reported illnesses in the past year may itself have been affected by subjective considerations, older respondents who by their own account had not been sick in the past year were nonetheless more likely than younger respondents to give poor health as a reason for preferring not to work.

In addition, it should be noted that chronological age and the illness measure have both independent and interactive effects on mentioning poor health as a reason for preferring not to work. Thus, among women who are under 30, the number-of-illnesses variable accounts for a 17 percentage-point difference down the first column of Table X-5. There is a similar difference (18 percentage points) in the 30-to-39 group. However, in the group aged 40 and over, the difference is 38 percentage points. This seems to indicate that it is not only illness *per se* but more importantly illness in combination with aging which increases the likelihood that illness will become a basis for

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[15] Actually, "employability" is a culturally defined state. There are probably very few disabilities which restrict work under all circumstances and in all social contexts. The sociologist must therefore view the classification of some welfare recipients by the system as "totally and permanently disabled" as one device for providing socially acceptable rationales for the limited opportunities which such persons have in the labor market. As in many other areas of social life, the labeling process functions to "tidy up" the bookkeeping of a society riddled with value inconsistencies. That these labels should in turn be sought by those who are excluded from participation is a natural outcome of the process.

[16] Although "the number of reported illnesses in the past year" is certainly not an adequate measure of the "physiological component of aging," it is the best measure we have and provides at least a tentative test.

TABLE X-5

PERCENT GIVING HEALTH REASONS FOR PREFERRING
NOT TO WORK BY AGE AND NUMBER OF ILLNESSES IN THE PAST YEAR
(Only Those Preferring Not to Work--New York Welfare Sample)

	Percent Giving Health Reasons for Preferring Not to Work		
	Age		
Number of Illnesses in the Past Year	Under 30	30-39	40 and Over
None	1 (86)	3 (93)	24 (63)
1 or 2	4 (52)	9 (75)	37 (51)
3 or more	18 (80)	21 (84)	62 (76)

legitimating dependency. It is not only that taking the sick role seems to help legitimize welfare but that age seems to help legitimize taking the sick role (17). A young person who complains of aches and pains calls forth negative sanctions; an older person calls forth sympathy.

In Table X-5 by simply counting the number of self-reported illnesses during the past year there is no way to differentiate between "serious"and "non-serious" illnesses among the respondents. It was beyond the scope of the study to measure how seriously ill the respondents were. However, this can be approximated by the number of doctor-patient contacts in the past year. We may assume that the sicker respondents would on the average have more frequent contacts with physicians. The data presented in Table X-6 are quite striking. Of those women who had at least seven doctor-patient contacts in the last year, only 2 percent of the youngest and fully 66 percent of the oldest gave poor health as the reason for preferring not to work (18). Also, 30 percent of women over forty who have seen the doctor once or not at all during the past year used poor health to legitimate their dependency.

As a final test of the family-cycle hypothesis, it is necessary to examine the simultaneous effect of both the mother's age and that of her children on giving poor health as a reason for preferring not to work. In Table X-7,age of youngest child is used as an indicator of the extent of child-rearing responsibilities. It turns out that even when mother's age is controlled, age of youngest child is associated in the expected direction with giving health as a reason for preferring not to work. The association is particularly strong for those over 40. Women who are over 40 and have no children under 11 years of age are almost three times more likely than any other category to give health reasons for preferring not to work. The decline of child-rearing

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[17] For a similar analysis see Coser (1961).

[18] Women who were pregnant during the last year were excluded from the analysis.

TABLE X-6

PERCENT GIVING HEALTH REASONS FOR PREFERRING NOT TO WORK
BY AGE AND NUMBER OF DOCTOR-PATIENT CONTACTS IN THE PAST YEAR
(Only Those Preferring Not to Work--New York Welfare Sample)

Percent Giving Health Reasons
for Preferring Not to Work

Number of Doctor-Patient Contacts in Past Year	Age Under 30	 30-39	 40 and Over
None or 1	5 (88)	7 (118)	30 (84)
2 to 6	4 (72)	13 (79)	38 (69)
7 or more	2 (60)	18 (57)	66 (53)

functions, as one aspect of aging, leads to an increasing tendency to legitimate welfare dependency be evoking the sick role. The issue here is not whether or not older respondents are "sicker" than younger respondents. Even if we assume that they are, it is only among those whose children are growing up that this becomes salient as the reason for their welfare dependency. In fact we would guess that even middle-class women would be more likely to take the sick role as they grow older and their child rearing function declines in significance. A middle-class woman who has devoted her life to rearing children might find poor health an acceptable way of legitimating to herself her failure to find another socially useful status when her children have grown up.

Thus it is evident that although illness plays only a small part in legitimating dependency in the total family welfare population, it becomes one of the primary bases of legitimating a claim to welfare support among women over 40 whose youngest child is or is about to become an adolescent. As these women reach the end of their child-rearing years, their opportunity for economic independence is highly limited. They are over 40, they lack a recent job history and have limited skills in an industrial society. If at the same time they are black or Puerto Rican (as most of them are), their realistic opportunities for independence are further restricted. The sick role may provide one "substitute" status for the lack of any other socially approved or positively evaluated statuses.

Generalization of the Hypothesis

Thus far we have presented a detailed analysis of how some welfare mothers use illness as a means of legitimating their self-defined failure. We believe that the use of health to legitimate failure is a widespread

TABLE X-7

PERCENT GIVING HEALTH REASONS FOR PREFERRING NOT TO WORK BY AGE AND AGE OF YOUNGEST CHILD

(Only Those Preferring Not to Work--New York Welfare Sample)

Percent Giving Health Reasons
for Preferring Not to Work

	Age		
Age of Youngest Child	Under 30	30-39	40 and Over
0 to 5	8 (202)	9 (165)	15 (34)
6 to 10	13 (16)	14 (64)	27 (63)
11 or over	* (2)	21 (24)	63 (94)

*Too few cases

phenomenon in achievement-oriented societies like that of the United States (19). Health is perceived as physiologically determined and therefore basically beyond the control of the individual. If one fails to live up to some socially defined role expectation, he is not really to be blamed if he has poor health.

We decided to test the validity of this generalization on another set of data. We were interested in whether or not mothers and wives who defined their own role performances as below par would be more likely to define their health as poor. As part of the New York study of welfare mothers, we interviewed a "control" sample of 412 non-welfare black mothers. These working class women lived in several public housing projects. In this questionnaire we had a series of questions designed to measure the degree of self-defined success which the women had in fulfilling their roles as mothers and wives. The data are presented in Table X-8. The results are even more striking than we had expected. In all six questions, those women who defined themselves as relative failures in their roles as wives and mothers were more likely to define their health as fair or poor than were women who felt that they adequately performed these roles (20). For example, of those women who said that their marriage has been "average or unhappy," 40 percent defined their health as fair or

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[19] We do not mean that most people who define themselves as failures use ill health as a means of self-legitimation; but that a substantial minority of people use ill health to legitimate failure in a wide variety of situations. Clearly there are other techniques used to legitimate self-defined failure. detailed investigations of these techniques are likely to be theoretically fruitful.

[20] Another possible interpretation of the data in this table would be that all responses are a result of a general negative self-image. Women who think of themselves as "bad" mothers are also likely to have a low evaluation

poor; but only 22 percent of those who said that their marriage was "happy" defined their health negatively. Although we do not have data that allow us to measure the intervening mechanisms we would hypothesize that women who think of themselves as failures as mothers and wives develop a need to legitimize their failure, and a substantial minority of them use poor health to do this.

It is, of course, possible that the associations reported in Table X-8 are spurious. It could be that women who are older, have low education, low income, and are physiologically in poor health might be more likely both to see themselves as failures as wives and mothers and to define their health negatively. If we were to control for these antecedent variables and eliminate the effect of self-defined role performance, then clearly our interpretation of the data of Table X-8 would be incorrect. To analyze this possibility we combined the answers to all six questions concerning role performance into an index. Women scoring high on this index were the least likely to define their health as being fair or poor. Whereas 18 percent of the high scorers defined their health as fair or poor, 45 percent of the low scorers thought of their health as being fair or poor (see Column 1 of Table X-9). Variables like age, education, income, and "objective" health were correlated both with scores on the role performance index and definition of health. It is therefore possible that the associations between these latter variables could be spurious. To test this possibility we have employed the technique of test-factor standardization (21). The results presented in Table X-9 are equivalent to three-variable tables in which we examine the effect of role performance on definition of health, controlling separately for age, education, income, and "objective" health.

Standardizing separately for age, education and income did not substantially reduce the effect of the role-performance index on definition of health. Thus, for example, although older women were more likely to score low on the role performance index and to define their health as fair or poor, within each age category role-performance was still associated with definition of health. The results obtained when we standardized on "objective health" were not as clear. "Objective health" was measured by the number of symptoms the respondent reported. The interviewer read a list of 28 symptoms ranging from, "Have you recently lost a lot of weight without dieting?" to, "Have you recently been very depressed and blue?" Those reporting no symptoms were considered to be in excellent health; one or two symptoms good health; three or four symptoms fair health; and those reporting five or more symptoms were classified as being in poor health. This measure of "objective health" is, of course, not an indicator of the physiological condition of the respondent. Many of the symptoms were psychosomatic. Also, people who define their health as poor are more likely to search for symptoms to justify their taking the sick role. Furthermore, as was pointed out above, it is difficult if not

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of their own bodies and their health. A further test of our hypothesis would require data to show more specifically that women who define themselves as failures take the sick role both attitudinally and behaviorally.

[21] For a description of the technique of test factor standardization see Morris Rosenbert (1962-63).

TABLE X-8

PERCENT DEFINING HEALTH AS FAIR OR POOR BY SELF-DEFINED ROLE PERFORMANCE

(New York--Working Class Sample)

	Percent Saying Health is Fair or Poor	
(1) Compared with your friends, would you say that you are an:		
Excellent cook	20	(54)
Good cook	31	(169)
Average or below average cook	33	(187)
(2) How often do you feel that you can't control your children:		
Frequently or sometimes	38	(125)
Rarely	34	(86)
Never	24	(200)
(3) How often do you feel that you are not as good a mother as you would like to be:		
Frequently or sometimes	38	(155)
Rarely	29	(98)
Never	24	(159)
(4) Would you say that your marriage has been:		
Happy	22	(214)
Average or unhappy	40	(132)
(5) Compared with your friends would you say that you and your husband get along:		
Very well	23	(188)
About average or not so well	36	(160)
(6) How often do you bake:		
A few times a month or more	28	(314)
Once a month or less	37	(94)

TABLE X-9

PERCENT DEFINING HEALTH AS FAIR OR POOR BY SELF-DEFINED ROLE PERFORMANCE--STANDARDIZED BY AGE, EDUCATION, INCOME, AND "OBJECTIVE" HEALTH

(New York Working-Class Sample)

Percent Defining Health as Fair or Poor						
Role Performance			Standardized On			
			Age	Education	Income	Objective Health
Low	(5,6)	45(109)	46	44	45	35
Med.	(4,3)	28(193)	28	28	27	29
High	(0,1,2)	18(108)	19	19	20	22

impossible to separate physiological from socio-psychological determinants of many physical symptoms. As the standardized data of Table X-9 (see last column of Table X-9), the measure of "objective health" does reduce the relationship between role performance and self-defined health. When the data are standardized on "objective health", 35 percent of the mothers scoring low on the role-performance index and 22 percent of those scoring high said that their health was fair or poor. Given that the "objective health" measure and self-definition of health are probably measuring only marginally different aspects of the same phenomenon, we would conclude that the data show enough support for our hypothesis as to merit its further consideration.

Conclusion

How an individual defines his health influences many areas of his life. People who think of themselves as being in poor health act as if they were ill and may in fact become physically ill. In this paper we have analyzed some of the sociological determinants of definition of health. We have argued that in the United States having poor health is used to legitimate to self and others a sense of failure to fulfill socially prescribed roles. In America the cultural values stress the importance of maintaining economic independence and striving to move up in the social hierarchy. As Merton has pointed out, not trying to better one's self is a form of deviance in American society. Welfare recipients occupy a stigmatized status in America. A substantial proportion of welfare recipients themselves define welfare as a deviant status; yet many of these mothers have given up hope of becoming independent. When people occupy a self-defined deviant status and have little expectation of leaving this status, they feel a need to legitimate their failure. We have shown that defining one's health as poor is one way that welfare mothers have of legitimating their status. Drawing on data from another study we showed that women who defined their performance as wives and mothers as being less than adequate were more likely than those who were satisfied with their performance to define their health as poor. We would hypothesize that wherever there are high rates of self-defined failure there will be high rates of self-defined poor health.

Recommendations

What policy implications are suggested by this analysis? Does the use of ill health to legitimate dependency in any way affect the welfare system or society? Of what relevance are the social-psychological mechanisms welfare mothers employ to justify to themselves their welfare dependency?

Some consequences for society are apparent. Justifying welfare status by coming to believe that one is sick is one type of response to failure. In America, failure has traditionally been seen as a result of personal defects. Some poor people believe that they are poor because they are lazy or stupid or "sinful" in the sense that they cannot control their appetites. Rarely have poor people blamed structural social conditions for their poverty. This is just one reason why there has never been a major left-wing political movement in the United States.

The use of poor health to legitimate dependency creates problems for the welfare system. People who think they are ill usually act like they are ill. They pay frequent visits to clinics and hospitals and overtax the already heavily utilized welfare medical facilities. An abundance of such patients would make it difficult to provide adequate health care for welfare recipients with more serious medical problems.

How might one break the causal chain described in this analysis? Welfare mothers feel a need to legitimate dependency when they lose hope of attaining economic independence. Clearly the way to reduce the frequency of such "retreatism" is to increase the probability that this type of welfare recipient becomes economically independent. Jobs that most welfare mothers fill are so poorly paid that in states like New York and New Jersey the women are financially better off on welfare. The government might subsidize institutions having a need for low skill personnel. For example, our hospitals are unbelievably under-staffed by needed low skill personnel but do not have funds to pay decent wages or to hire enough people. The government might provide hospitals with funds earmarked specifically for the employment of low skill personnel. The more low skill jobs there are that pay a significant amount more than can be received on welfare the smaller the permanent welfare population might be. Subsidizing hiring institutions rather than individuals is desirable because it removes the stigma of receiving a dole. The ex-welfare recipient will be employed by a hospital, let us say, and paid a decent salary.

A second way in which the government can prevent women from giving up hope of getting off welfare is to provide some positive incentives for family stability and negative incentives for family instability. For all government subsidized jobs married men with children should be given priority. Men should be expected to continue to support their children if they are separated or if a marriage ends in divorce. To encourage family stability low income families might be given a cash bonus at the end of every year in which a stable home has been maintained. If more jobs are made available for low skill personnel and if a series of incentives for family stability are established, then the objective chances of being permanently dependent will decline.

One way that societies have of solving role conflict is to institutionalize it out of existence. If women face conflict as to whether they should work or stay at home and take care of children, this conflict can be solved by making work compulsory. This is the solution chosen by authoritarian societies and might be examined in the light of its possible impact on other American social institutions.

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CHAPTER XI

AN INTERPRETIVE SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Applying economic leverage to encourage economic independence is, on the surface, eminently rational. Yet, this procedure is having mixed results. The AFDC population, being socially and culturally diverse, responds in more than one way to an economic offer. This persistent lesson is summarily and interpretively documented in these concluding pages. An effective policy (1) would be attuned to, at least, two facts: 1) welfare mothers constitute a social aggregate rather than a community and 2) this aggregate includes both traditionally home-centered mothers and mothers striving, through paid employment, to raise their family's social status and material condition.

Four culturally different types of welfare families may be distinguished. At a minimum, policy must consider these distinctions. The fundamental cleavage is between those accepting a traditional family role for women and those who are modernizing this role to incorporate an active achievement orientation expressed in work outside the home. The largest proportion of welfare mothers, perhaps four out of five, is traditional--but traditional for three distinct reasons. One in four traditionalists is psychologically and intellectually incompetent to accept the occupational responsibilities associated with working. Another one in four is an adjusted traditionalist. Her milieu strongly supports a traditionalist orientation and considers it the right and appropriate role for a mother. The other two of the four are temporary traditionalists. By and large, they perform a traditional homemaker role while their children are small but may be expected to adapt, or reassume, a modernizing life style after the youngest child is in school. One in five welfare mothers is a modernizing woman. Almost irrespective of her stage in the family life cycle, she seeks a life outside the home, striving to be self-sufficient and socially mobile.

Traditionalism and modernism, as cultural orientations, are associated with the manner of acquiring income. Women on welfare receive aid in an amount based on their needs rather than on the quality of their performances in either a maternal or a working role. In obtaining this form of income, they participate in narrowly circumscribed social relationships

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[1] Interpreting findings for application in policy, in general, encounters three problems: 1) research and policy may attend to different aspects of the situation, 2) research statements are generalizations from many observations, but policy must often be implemented in a single case and 3) research provides factual information, but policy must act upon this information in the light of values not judged in the research. All of these condition interpretation and application of the findings of this study. See the Appendix to this chapter for a short note elaborating these points.

supportive of a traditionalist culture. When welfare mothers enter the world of market-exchange, receiving income for work, they enter extra-familial social relations. Such wider and varied social experience promotes a modernizing culture. Movement into the labor force is associated with participation in a broad social circle including a high proportion of self supporting women, having a small family and more extensive formal education. Essentially, these same factors are associated with exchanging a traditional for a modernizing maternal role and, as a consequence, accelerate the tendency to enter the labor force on the part of women with these characteristics. Financial incentives play but a small part in the decision of these women to work relative to these other modernizing influences. Traditionalist and modernizing life styles, rooted in styles of income, are expressed through patterns of household consumption--the traditionalists spending relatively more to meet intrafamilial needs and the modernizers investing more in activities relating the family to the broader community. Cultural values of these two life styles are expressed through their participation in local churches which are, at the same time, significant foci of community, or group life, for this population. The WIN program, coming into this setting, serves as a rallying point for modernizing women intent upon entering the world of work and accelerates their move toward modernization. The small number of training positions relative to candidates allows clients and agency officials to "negotiate" for appointment to WIN. WIN eligibility rules are adapted to local administrative and community exigencies and the chances of program success maximized.

A Varied Policy for a Varied Population

Welfare Mothers are a Social Aggregate, Not a Community

The notion of a "welfare community" suggests the existence of a group with a common culture. Welfare recipients, as such, do not constitute a community. Further, they do not share a single cultural orientation. At least two dominant cultural images of the appropriate behavior of a mother characterize these clients. Consequently, an intervention strategy applied uniformly to this population may induce diverse responses (2).

The study population was defined by some common attributes: welfare clients (AFDC), dependent children and no adult male present on a regular basis. These population boundaries were set by the eligibility requirements of the Work Incentive Program rather than by some intrinsic social relations among the households. The program views them as a "com-

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[2] Policies are activities shaped in the light of anticipated responses. The anticipations derive from knowledge of norms, shared perceptions and the consensus around goals in the target population. These three bases for anticipating the outcome of policy are weakened if the target population does not constitute a group. Policy aimed at an aggregate of persons who, while not a group, share a cultural orientation may still have predictable results--if the policy maker knows the nature of that culture.

mon fate" group, as families impoverished because they lack a working husband/father. The resulting gap between the household and the economy is to be bridged by the mother after training, job counseling, placement and child care arrangements are completed. Meanwhile, welfare is considered a temporary source of income. Since welfare mothers are an aggregate rather than a group, their response to the prospect of work is not uniform.

The AFDC mothers do not recognize their common welfare client status as defining a social identity, nor do they share common goals and values, except on a general level. Interaction among them is so superficial that information about WIN program opportunities is not effectively transmitted among them. AFDC mothers tended to learn of WIN directly from an agency worker. Few associate solely with other welfare mothers. Typically they have a mixed circle, including some friends on welfare, others who are husbandless working mothers and others who are living with and are supported by husbands in complete families. For these reasons, AFDC mothers do not constitute a community (3). With the exception of a small welfare rights group, welfare mothers are not organized around the issues of welfare.

The welfare population is drawn from a multiplicity of community social groups--most of whose members are not on welfare. They belong to churches and interact with neighbors and other members of their extended families. Their attitudes are those of the natural groups to which they belong (4) as modified by welfare dependency. Policy adapted to this variety of milieux could lead to a casework approach. This is unnecessary. Policy should, however, be specialized in terms of fundamental cultural orientations to be described below.

The economic diagnosis of the malaise affecting the welfare population is one reason for the failure to disaggregate them with respect to culture. The dollar is a seductive common denominator and work is the preferred basis for obtaining dollars. Implicitly, then, a manpower program is the indicated therapy for these destitute matrifocal families. Such a program could deal with the demand of enterprises for labor by developing

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[3] Welfare mothers also do not constitute a "class" according to the usual definition. Certainly, there is no widespread "class consciousness." Most have only become "welfare mothers" in the recent past and few expect to remain in that position. A minority of those totally dependent on welfare, having a similar relation to resources, may become a "class" in the objective sense. Many welfare mothers have several forms of income including varying amounts of wages.

[4] Whether, under the impact of current welfare/manpower programs, they will become a group is at present moot. The WIN program, while not creating a group, facilitates political-type organization around issues of work and welfare. Like welfare rights groups, these WIN catalyzed groups have not yet welded welfare recipients into a constituency acting in concert. Such groups tend to challenge welfare agencies and, in this act of opposition, their members may become modernized and, in effect, liquidate the need for welfare, thus realizing the goals of the program.

jobs or with the supply of labor by increasing employability of members of the population. The New Deal programs took the first option and created jobs. The WIN program selected the latter option and turned to the question of employability.

Employability is assessed in terms of a correspondance between interests, attitudes and competences of the worker and job requirements. The needed attributes of these women are, therefore, defined in terms of the jobs which policy-makers believe to be available to them. The program is designed to improve the ability of the worker to compete in the system --not to change the system (5).

Two Cultural Life Styles: Traditional and Modernizing

Matching people to jobs is not only a matter of job characteristics and personal competencies to perform tasks, that is, requirements set by the technical division of labor, but is also a matter of impediments to employment which have resulted from the separation of home and work, the social division of labor (6). The social differentiation of family and occupation has, in the recent past, removed women from participation in occupational life. The acceptance or rejection of this condition on the part of mothers underlies a life style distinction with significance for a wide range of behaviors and attitudes and, in particular, for employability.

Most of the welfare and a good portion of the working mothers interviewed for this study are committed to a traditionalist life style. This life style accepts the current social division of labor and the implied rule that work is for men while women are to care for the home. The lives of traditionalist women are organized around home and kinship and community relations, beyond the home, tend to be limited. To them, large families are desirable goals. The strength of the traditional family is in the relationships themselves. Family members are broadly responsible for and identify deeply with one another. Kinship loyalty and commitment are more

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[5] The agency intervenes in job settings when employers violate equal opportunities statutes and do not follow approved practices relative to labor organizations. Programs such as WIN are not concerned with job markets though the changes in markets in response to the general economy or the way markets are structured with respect to sex, racial or other attributes affects the practical definition of employability.

[6] The technical division of labor, the differentiation of tasks within the process of production, defines the performances required at work. The character of these tasks depends on the nature of the industry and its technology. Worker employability depends upon mastery of skills needed to perform these tasks. The social division of labor, the differentiation of occupational from other social institutions, affects the motivation to work, interest in the social relations around work and the definition of maternal roles at home and at the workplace.

significant than the quality of household task performance. Traditionalist women participate in the economy as consumers and gatekeepers for consumption by others and, thus, engage in commercial transactions but not in industrial production. When traditionalist women work, they tend to assume traditionalist occupations such as domestic service and crafts, especially those involving the custom production of an item such as personal dressmaking.

In Western society, industrial work has been extricated from the net of personal relations. Working time is spent in the office and family time at home. Men are excused from some family responsibilities to meet such segregated occupational commitments. This association between sex and economic role assignment rests on what Jessie Bernard calls a "role segregation ideology" (VII).* Roughly half of American adult women are in the labor force and the dominant traditionalist pattern is under strain.

A second basic cultural orientation arises in response to this social strain. Women seek and accept a role as both full time workers and part time mothers, rejecting the correspondance between sex and the social division of labor. This requires a disposition and ability to manage in a setting dominated by market rather than family relations. In our study, the associated life style was termed modernizing. Modernizing women favor smaller families, less home involvement and an interest in widening their social circles. While traditionalists think of income in terms of immediate needs, especially those for food and shelter, modernizers view income in relation to long term social mobility and are more likely to expend it to extend their social circles. The modernizing woman's income is set in terms of her performance at work. Modernizing and traditionalist attitudes, though found among both welfare and working mothers, go far in influencing mothers in their decision between welfare and work. In turn, the social relations surrounding welfare do little to disturb a traditionalist attitude while those surrounding work promote increasingly modernizing tendencies. Thus, as modernizing women continue to work and traditionalists to collect welfare, the cultural gap between them widens (7).

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*Roman numerals indicate the chapter in which support is found for the cited assertions.

[7] It is apparent from these definitions that this usage of the traditional/modern comparison does not correspond with that used in the literature on national economic development. In that literature, the arrangements of Western industrial society are termed modern. Here those arrangements are termed traditional in the sense that they have been the traditional form associated with the industrial era. The arrangement termed modern in this study goes beyond the role segregation ideology and would correspond to a post-modern stage of economic development--characterized by a female as well as a male industrial labor force.

Traditionalism as a Stable Life Style, as a Transitional Position and as Associated with Incompetence

The proportions of traditionalists and modernizers among welfare mothers or among working poor mothers may vary from setting to setting. Taking a cue from Camden, about one fifth of AFDC mothers are modernizers. Neither compulsion nor encouragement is needed to move them into the working world and to financial independence. They will exploit opportunities --job training, child care and job placement. Women who rally to WIN have modernizing characteristics.

Four fifths of the AFDC women are, at the moment, traditionalists--one fifth being adjusted traditionalists who consciously resist modernization, one fifth lacking the competence to attempt modernizing and the remaining two fifths being temporary traditionalists in various stages of transition to modernizing. Welfare mothers in our sample from Puerto Rico, while not exhausting the category, tend to be prototypical adjusted traditionalists. Few of them work and all have been socialized primarily to be wives and mothers. Their men, their families and the community of Puerto Rican women reinforce these role commitments. To persuade adjusted traditionalists to modernize would require a broad cultural change which cannot be accomplished by a program focusing on the women alone, nor can it be accomplished through counseling, training and job placement services.

Those lacking competence to modernize include roughly 15 percent of our AFDC population. They scored very low in the "digit symbol" intelligence test and their drawings of the human figure revealed serious personality abnormalities. Mental retardation combined with psychopathology make success in a competitive occupation unlikely. Occupational incompetence does not necessarily imply incompetence in the traditional mother role and it is to this role that they cling. Few will free themselves of welfare dependence unless they marry or are supported by their grown children. Some may be trained for low skill occupations such as farm labor, simple domestic tasks and some routine assembly line operations (8). Because of their psychopathology, they are doubtful candidates for child care positions. Some will eventually become the retreatists described by Stephen Cole (9).

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[8] The threshhold of intellectual and psychological "incompetence" is established relative to occupational and other demands of living. As the tasks of technological society become more complex, more workers are judged incompetent. As the supply of jobs decreases relative to the supply of labor, greater competence is required to meet the competition for jobs.

[9] Cole describes retreatists as those who are aware of and bothered by occupational and marital failure. While not all of the incompetents fit this description, their situation is similar to that of women who become retreatists because of personal tragedy, or because they have socially unacceptable characteristics or have been victims of a series of objective misfortunes. Defeat, and the production of retreatists, is a function of relations between social position and industrial attributes, on the one hand, and the technical requirements of industry and the labor market structure, on the other hand.

The remaining two fifths of the AFDC population are traditionalists in transition to modernization. For some, it is a matter of career timing, of stage in the family life cycle. Having children under six correlates with a preference for the homemaking over the worker role (10). Many of these young mothers are basically modernizing and look forward to working when their children enter school. For others, the transition is a cultural one. They are in the process of exchanging a traditionalist for a modernizing life style. Much of the current study is devoted to accounting for the transition which depends, among other factors, on education, scope and intensity of social participation, association with working women and, most important, their own employment experience.

Sources of Change in Life Styles

Patrimonial and Earned Incomes: Fundamental Determinants of Life Style

Since, as Jessie Bernard points out, all women were, in past times, traditional, oriented to the world of "status," the problem is to explain the process by which some modernize, orient to the world of "cash-nexus." The obtaining of income is a social interactional experience. Traditionalists and modernizers contrast in the manner in which they obtain income.

Income responsive more to the status of the women than to their productive performances is termed "patrimonial" to suggest the image of feudal lords dividing resources among their dependents. Unemployed married women, enjoying access to resources through their spouses, constitute the most common current case of patrimonial support. Support is provided in virtue of their marital status. The magnitude of that support is, within limits, not contingent on the husbands' evaluations of their performances as wives or mothers. Pensions and welfare support are special cases in which the government supplants the husband as the provider. In the marital case, the wife relates, at least, to her husband in obtaining support (unless a divorce has taken place). Welfare mothers, after presenting evidence of eligibility to the bureaucracy, engage in few significant social relations in obtaining support. As a consequence, the welfare mother may become quite socially isolated and introversive.

Income from productive labor in the form of profits or rents is earned in a market-exchange relation. The magnitude of income from labor

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[10] This is not a simple consequence of situational compulsion. A traditionalist cultural orientation, the life style variable, is more significant in understanding absence from the labor force than the situational life cycle variable. When a mother has small children, her cultural posture determines whether she will consider herself situationally bound to stay home with them or place them in a child care arrangement. Modernizing mothers may be seen with their small children at WIN training centers. For those less strongly committed to work, the responsibility for small children is sufficient reason to keep them at home. A number of these women will enter the labor force--some, though, in traditional occupations.

is contingent on evaluated performances. The worker in a complex of social relations is subjected to discipline.

For practical purposes, in this particular population, patrimonial and market-exchange incomes are associated with welfare and work respectively. Factors which effect a shift from welfare benefits to work or earnings are crucial to the broader shift from traditional to modernizing life styles. Three types of analyses identify these factors in this report. First, characteristics of welfare mothers are compared with those of poor working women. Change is assessed by comparing each of these panels over a year period. Second, welfare mothers completely dependent on welfare are compared with those who supplement their income by earnings. These comparisons, too, were carried over a year. Third, WIN program participants, as candidates for the labor force, are compared with those other WIN eligible welfare mothers, including nominees to WIN, who did not participate in the program during the year between the interviews. These three analyses converge in suggesting that the principal factor affecting assumption of the work role involve 1) the socializing influence of family and friends, 2) the scope of social relations in which the mother participates and 3) a variety of factors which correlate with or predispose to the previous two including education, size of family, work experience itself and religious affiliation.

The Influence of Family and Friends

While occupational relations are fundamental, kinship, religious, political and other role relations also generate traditional and modernizing cultural forms (11). Modernizing does not begin with occupational experience but is abetted by it. The character of family background predisposes a welfare mother to seek remunerative employment or remain on welfare (12). The association between welfare status and traditionalism, on

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[11] These culturally based mentalities are constituted by systems of meanings which emerge in and around the social relations of work, family, church, politics and so forth. These meanings interpret social relations, in part, by placing them in a wider context. Early familial relations are central for life style socialization. If the mother's family of origin was a seedbed for modernizing culture, or if the mother is alienated from a traditionalist family, she may seek occupational and other social relations which further extend her modernizing horizons.

[12] The dependence of life style upon family background does not imply the intergenerational persistence of welfare status. Few welfare recipients report their mothers having been on welfare. Cultural orientations may be transmitted but implemented variously by successor generations in new social settings. The point must remain moot, however, since welfare was less available to the previous generation. In general, neither attitude nor culture, but social relations are the significant lever of change. Movement into the labor force is not, as Jessie Bernard found, simply a function of a positive attitude toward working. Ascriptive mentality,

the other, is reflected in the respective family attitudes of welfare and working mothers. The welfare mothers are more likely than working mothers to prefer the maternal to the occupational role for themselves, affirm it to be the mother's duty to remain at home and are more likely to support the ideal of a large family (V). Welfare mothers, in the traditionalist spirit, feel responsible for offering emotional and educational support to and for protecting and caring for their families. Working mothers, generally, express modernizing attitudes, are less concerned with being home, less likely to idealize large families and, most significantly, they accept a responsibility as economic providers (VI).

The situation becomes self-fulfilling. A traditional life style which encourages large families, among those with low incomes, increases the risk of welfare dependency (VI). Deprived of its breadwinner, such a family is almost hopelessly severed from the economy. Without insurance coverage, pensions or intra-familial transfers, a husbandless woman caring for five, six or more children has, essentially, three choices--welfare, work with extensive child care arrangements or neglect of the children. In the study population, few matrifocal homes with five or more dependent children are supported by the mother's earnings. Acceptance of welfare support reinforces a traditional life style, including the value of having many children.

The problems of a traditional family with few children precipitated into welfare are more manageable. With less of a financial requirement, the funds and help with child care available from the extended family can tide the mother and her children over their difficulty. Families moving from the rural South to a Northern industrial city lack closeby kinship assistance. Their isolation is correlated with welfare dependency. If the small families among them break through this isolation to find assistance, say, with child care, from friends or neighbors, they may avoid welfare.

Migrants from the agricultural South to a Northern city, leaving their families of origin, may enter a social circle of modernizing women. Women raised in urban settings may, perhaps, because of exposure to the educational system, to more cosmopolitan social relations involving exposure to new life styles, to the ideologies of "black consciousness" or "women's liberation" may become alienated from traditional families of origin. Life styles in homes where they serve as domestics may feed their ambitions and catalyze this change--though domestic service, in and of itself, is a traditionalist occupation (13).

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traditional attitude affirming homemaking, was found to be a poor (negative) predictor of labor force participation. However, ascriptive culture, having particular social relations, interacting with others who do not work, was negatively correlated with working (VII).

[13] American black women have been employed outside the home to a greater extent than their white sisters. By itself, this should press the modernization process beyond that of white women of the same socio-economic

A mother who intends to work is more likely than one who looks forward to either marriage or continued welfare to seek friends who work. Associating with others who work is a benchmark on the road to working. Such associations legitimate her working. These associations, formed prior to entrance into the labor market, are sources of "anticipatory socialization," that is, learning role behavior as preparation for entrance into that role. Their motivation for work is developed and agency workers are, thereby, encouraged to promote them for jobs or job training. Subsequently, their manifest motivation encourages prospective employers to engage them. The assignment of cause and effect would, as in the case of family influences, belie the reciprocal character of the process.

Employment engenders social relations with fellow workers and this increases the probability that, even away from the job, she will have friends who work (VI). These friendships further promote work supportive attributes in welfare mothers and provide occasions or contacts for finding jobs.

Associating with working mothers increases the probability of entering the labor force and of going to work, but it does not immediately affect the length of employment. As a result, associating with friends who work does not immediately lead to increased earnings. However, those with more working relatives are more likely to work for longer periods (VI). Family influence, while modified by the influence of friends, remains a stronger influence on the length and regularity of employment.

Few welfare mothers associate solely with other welfare mothers. Welfare mothers are, however, more likely than working mothers to have, at least, some other welfare mothers in their circles and this fact must help legitimate welfare status for those traditionally committed. Welfare mothers with any relatives on welfare are themselves slower to move toward financial independence. Family, then, is again a stronger influence than friends in establishing norms surrounding a woman's working role.

The Scope and Frequency of Social Interaction

Social relations impinge on the transition from welfare to work, or work to welfare, through the models they provide and their socializing effect. This influence is exercised through the cultural content of the social relations. The scope and frequency, a formal characteristic, of social relations also influences the choice between work and welfare and between modern and traditional life styles. Modernizing mothers extend themselves into the wider community, and enjoy a more intense extra-familial social life, more options are available to disturb traditional ways and spark aspirations for change. Traditional, more socially isolated, mothers

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level. However, domestic service and farm labor are traditional occupations, dominated by traditional norms and relatively untouched by the relations of bureaucratic industrial culture, and so may offer only slight modernizing influence. Further, many of the middle class women they serve are traditionalists.

are less exposed to opportunities for change. The effect of social isolation is revealed in the effect of residential mobility. Local residential mobility, in this group, is related to loss of housing. Those who move break with friends and interrupt established social relations. Thus, they become isolated and lose contacts that could help them find a job. In addition, they lack the knowledge of work opportunities which might be available to the more residentially stable. As a consequence, residential mobility is associated with being and remaining on welfare (VI). The difficulty is compounded. Welfare mothers visit both friends and family less frequently than do working mothers. Welfare mothers, more isolated from their extended family, have more difficulty in arranging child care, if they do find a job, and they forego familial informational channels that might lead to jobs (VI) (14).

Characteristics of Traditional and Modernizing Life Styles

Variant Meanings of Money

The economic "incentive" concept of manpower/welfare programs proposes that an offer of income is an incentive toward a decision to work. Income is offered as a payment while training, is promised as an increased earning potential as a result of occupational upgrading and by application of a formula by which initial earnings are not entirely deducted in computing welfare benefits. In general, the study finds that such anticipated economic benefits play but a small part in the decision to work of this population. In fact, disbenefits, such as willingness to travel some distance, may be endured by those who want to work (VI). This may be explained in terms of conditions of the job market, the cultural predisposition to work and, in general, life style.

The effort to upgrade has some paradoxical consequences. Welfare mothers who felt themselves candidates for increased earnings were no more likely to work than those without this expectation. High earning potential, measured by wage level in their last job, encourages mothers to enter the labor force, that is, to report themselves prepared to accept employment. Yet, these same mothers were the least likely to work during the year between interviews since they have difficulty in finding work which pays much above a minimum wage. Therefore, though they are in the labor force, they may not accept employment inadequate to their aspirations (VI). Thus, upgrading through work training may dampen employment possibilities, at least in the short run. This is both an analytic and a practical lesson. The analytic lesson is, as Bernard points out, that factors which lead these

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[14] The welfare situation itself does not hinder the mother from developing a social circle, but it does not contribute to that process. Some traditionalists, not necessarily on welfare, are highly active socially. Anyone familiar with the festivities and gift exchanges of a traditional community can attest to this. The issue here is one of a varied social circle as a prod to change.

women into the labor force area are often not identical with those leading to their employment (VII). The practical lesson concerns the difficulty in dealing with unemployment without tampering with the market for labor. Even if money were motivationally an incentive, the ultimate incentive must be actual earning power, a function of the job market.

Mothers with fewer children under six have less difficulty to overcome at home in implementing any predisposition to earn and do, in fact, earn more. The key is not only that they have fewer small children, but the fact that mothers with few children, of any age, are more likely to be modernizing. Employment is, in part, a response to a socio-cultural predisposition--as well as a function of the job market. That a broad life style variable is involved is shown by the fact that attitude toward money is not, in itself, correlated with labor force participation. However, an index combining measures of attitudes toward money, attitudes toward institutional child care and opinions about working life is correlated with the acceptance of employment (VI).

To be an incentive, money must be interpreted as an incentive. Thus, as suggested by the above findings, the "incentiveness," to coin a term, of money may vary with the cultural orientation of the welfare mothers. For modernizing mothers, wages allow social mobility and expanding social relationships. This is similar to the incentive that money holds for a male labor force. Traditionalists interpret money only in direct relation to consumption--better food, housing or entertainment.

The source of money, what one has to do to obtain it, and the regularity with which it is received, also color its meaning. Money received as a benefit is treated differently than money earned. As mentioned above, the life style is, in part, a function of whether benefits or earnings are the pervasive form of income. Whether an income is received routinely or is a windfall, a fact relatively independent of whether it is a benefit or earned income, affects its meaning in a way reflected in the expenditure budget. Those who work gear their regular budget to routine earnings. For welfare mothers, earnings are supplementary, a type of windfall, income--and used for elaboration of regularly budgeted items. Benefits are their routine support and the foundation of their regular household budget. The incentive value of money depends upon whether it is a facility to cover basic living costs or for an elaboration of routine life. Thus, a training allowance, a type of earning, would have a different meaning, and a different incentive value, for work oriented than for welfare oriented mothers.

The variety of meanings of money, including its ambiguous relation to the work decision, does not imply that any of these mothers do not need access to resources or would not act to obtain food, clothing and housing. A decision to work, however, as the means for obtaining these resources involves more than money benefit. The decision to work is an aspect of a complex of culturally grounded attitudes of which the attitude toward money is one element.

Expenditure Patterns: Expressing Life Styles Materially

The use to which the money is put is a significant element in interpreting its meaning and assessing its role as an incentive. Budgetary expenditures reflect the purposes to which money is allocated and, by inference, that part of life style expressible through material goods. Budget allocations are relatively comparable because the incomes of both welfare and working households in the study vary only within a narrow range (15).

Working mothers allocate a larger proportion of their budget for items related to external social relationships while welfare mothers allocate relatively more for items related to internal home needs (VIII). Food and rent are two main examples of these internal needs. Of course, the level of welfare payments is established relative to internal household needs. However, size of family, the principal welfare consideration, does not fully explain the expenditure pattern. Welfare families expend a greater proportion of their income for rent than do working families of the same size (VI). The absolute dollar expenditures of welfare families for rent are also higher. Working families in the study population were more likely to enjoy subsidized public housing and so, perhaps, the pressure to expend for rent may not be as severe.

When the budget is tight, welfare families reduce the rent to maintain the level of food expenditure. Welfare income, a function of the number of mouths to feed, does not rise proportionately to the food needs of additional children. Thus, to maintain the same per capita intake of food, large families allocate a greater proportion of their budgets to food. To do so, they reduce their rental expense. This explains the otherwise puzzling finding that the proportion expended for rent among welfare families is inversely related to the size of the family. By implication, larger welfare families must occupy lower quality housing (VIII), a fact known intuitively to those who work with them. Working families do not give food the same priority when hard choices are made. They reduce food expenditures in favor of hard consumption items, such as television, a modernizing symbol, or in favor of items relevant to social interaction, such as recreation, grooming and clothing.

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[15] Though household incomes of working families differ little from those of welfare families, the former have a higher average per capita income. Size of family influences per capita income levels. Very small working families have slightly more per capita income than any other families studied. Welfare and working families with up to three or four children have comparable per capita incomes. However, all of the largest families, with seven or more children, in this population are on welfare and they have the least per capita income.

That the working mothers are older than welfare mothers does not affect their relative income levels. Earned income changes little with age. The higher educational attainment of working mothers also does not have a marked impact on income. While the most impoverished are working mothers with little education, additional education beyond the early high school years does not influence income.

Thus, two things may be said. First, subsistence needs determine the extent to which money is an incentive for welfare or traditionalist families. Work is more likely to be interrupted when these are met. For working or modernizing families, money means social mobility--a more open-ended situation. An economic incentive may be a longer lasting influence keeping them on the job. Second, in the transition from welfare to work, expenditures for subsistence become less important than expenditures which advance social relations. This change toward greater social involvement adds momentum to the desire to earn.

Religion: Expressing Life Style Culturally

Household expenditure allocation shows how the family designs its consumption of resources, a design expressive of life style. Religious relations interpret such material expressions of life style and order the social relations of work, neighborhood and family in a wider framework of meanings.

Nine out of ten welfare and working mothers identify with a church. With race controlled, each religious group has about the same proportion of welfare and working mothers. Catholics, with a number of Puerto Rican mothers on welfare, provide the only exception (IX).

Religious denominations differentially support traditional and modernizing life styles. Level of modernization as defined in terms of proportion with modernizing cultural attributes and religious affiliation parallel one another. If this results because given individuals change religious affiliations as they modernize, a modernizing career would be suggested. For instance, when the population is classified simultaneously by working or welfare status and religious affiliation (excepting for Catholics), a relatively constant order may be observed with respect to a series of significant indices of modernization. This order is as follows.

Status/Affiliation
Least Modernized (1) Welfare/not church affiliated
(2) Welfare/Baptist and Pentecostal sects
(3) Welfare/Methodist sects
(4) Working/Methodist (main line)
↓
(5) Working/Baptist (main line)
Most Modernized (6) Working/not church affiliated

The proportion having had some high school education, for instance, increases in this order. Welfare mothers without religious affiliation are the most poorly educated. At the other extreme, working mothers who are not church affiliated are the best educated. The polar relation between the non-affiliated welfare and working populations is persistent--revealing these as culturally distinct populations.

Black churches are sources of cultural change and contribute to modernizing their members. The succession of life styles, following this order, may be illustrated for black mothers, some 70 percent of the study population. 1) A small number of non-church affiliated welfare recipients are the most socially isolated, perhaps even anomic, part of this population. They enjoy little social interaction outside their households. These mothers are young, most poorly educated, score low in intelligence and high in psychopathology. 2) Pentecostalism, the second step in the above order, operating at the boundary between such anomic welfare living and more traditional life, reaches out to these young and lonely women. Pentecostal church life is consistent with commitment to a traditional life style, particularly one based on a community of individuals rather than households. On a religious level, this is expressed through belief in personal salvation by faith, receiving the spirit by leaving one's self open or inducing it by strictly religious means. Commitment to virtue in personal and occupational relations is encouraged in this setting. By bringing order into their lives, encouraging optimism and teaching the simple virtues of honesty and mutual aid, Pentecostals prepare these mothers for employment and sustain them in their jobs. 3) Baptist and Methodist sectarian churches attract those with slightly more education, perhaps drawing more mothers temporarily on welfare because of their stage in the life cycle rather than because of their life style. Whether Baptist or Methodist settings are selected depends on regional background. 4) 5) Main line black Baptist and black Methodist churches tend to attract those who move into the world of work, especially if they are not in the very lowest ranking employments, if they are beauticians rather than domestics or cashiers rather than cleaning women. The majority, though, of the working mothers remain in traditional occupations. Methodists and other liberal Protestant churches (here included in the main line Methodist category) draw congregants on the boundary between a traditional and a modernizing orientation. These women tend to be somewhat older (IX). 6) The most deeply involved in work, and possibly the most modernizing of all, are the non-church affiliated working women. They are, like the welfare non-affiliated, quite young. Unlike them, however, these women are the most highly eduated, intelligent, least psychopathological and psycholcgically activistic. They avow religious feelings but do not express them through church participation.

Life Style Changes During the Life Cycle

Welfare policy is strangely paradoxical. Internal arrangements, the way benefits are paid and the relation of agency to client, have a temporary cast to them. Public attitudes, on the contrary, seem fixed on the notion of a permanent welfare community--despite the commission of WIN to encourage work. Some mothers are, in fact, supported indefinitely by one or another form of public assistance. A sizeable proportion of these women, however, are temporarily on welfare, either because they are in transition to modernizing or because they have small children--a matter of stage in the family life cycle. Welfare is a stage in a career. Others, especially traditional women, are temporarily on welfare pending their marriage or remarriage.

Manpower policy is, as Jessie Bernard points out, formulated by men for application to men. Its categories fit the careers of men. The simple labor force categories of "in" or "out" of the labor force are suited for describing male careers (VII). Females, however, temporarily out of the labor force, perhaps on maternity leave or engaged in childrearing, and who are prepared to return to work might be described as "inactively employed." Partially or fully employed individuals, whose employment is subsidized by another income, might be called "dependent employed." Dependent employment occurs among men, especially youths, but is more frequent among women and continues into adulthood for many married women (16).

Dependent employment characterizes the transition from welfare to work. Earning an increasingly larger proportion of their income is another sign of movement toward the working world. Mothers, on the road to modernization before childbirth, may return to work after the youngest child is in school. In general, as welfare mothers become older, they are more likely to enter the world of work. The rapidity with which they return to work, as they become older, is related to their commitment to a modernizing life style (VI) (17).

The transition to a modernizing life style based on work has been described in the deterministic language of research. It would be an error to reify an image of an active labor market selecting candidates for modernization from a passive potential labor force. Modernizers actively self-select for an occupation. Traditional women also are not passive in the

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[16] The differential policy implications are clear. Inactive and dependent employment may be modernizing in orientation. Programs designed to return them to work would not have to be concerned, to any great extent, with motivation to work. When the "inactively" employed status is limited in time, a manpower training program might not be indicated. Those dependently employed might need a manpower program. If dependent employment were by choice--such as that of a wife supplementing family income or a student supplementing parental support, a manpower training program would have little impact. If, however, dependent employment were simply underemployment--due to inability to hold a continuous job or to claim a job above minimum wage--upgrading the worker would be appropriate.

[17] The pattern of movements into and out of the labor force, in response to family responsibilities and economic situations, is more eccentric for these low income women than it is for low and middle class American women who have husbands. Bernard describes a two cycle career pattern typical of American women. The young girl enters the labor force in adolescence or later adolescence becoming dependently employed or, if she foregoes parental subvention, she may become independently employed. Upon marriage, and birth of a child, she becomes inactively employed. Low income women without parental subvention and sometimes without a husband may have recourse to welfare at this stage. A second cycle begins after the last child enters school. A second stage of dependent employment, drawing upon the husband's income, may mark the beginning of a new career followed by a new period of independent employment.

face of the possibility of a work assignment but actively discourage their assignment.

Self selection is apparent from the fact that those who declare their intention to work are indeed more likely to go to work. This is not a trivial finding merely illustrating that actions concur with expressed intent. Implementation of that intent depends on agreement by another party, the employer. The success in implementing an intent signifies that blind structural inducements alone do not control likelihood of working. For some, the response may have been simply factually predictive. For others, it expressed an interest which became manifest. Subjective commitment to enter an occupational role is a better predictor for entering that role than any other factor measured in this study (V). The mechanisms of self-selection will be clearer from an examination of WIN program assignment.

The WIN Program

The WIN Program Selects Modernizers

The WIN program is designed to encourage welfare dependents to become financially independent through labor. The program's result is more profound. It catalyzes the process of modernization. Welfare mothers who have already begun modernizing but, for one reason or another, are not working, use the program to project themselves into the working world. WIN offers training, counseling, a setting for meeting other modernizers and subvented access to community facilities for child care. Significantly, WIN participants are not distinguished from their welfare sisters in terms of child dependency, being just as likely to have a preschool child. They are, however, distinguishable among AFDC mothers by their more extensive information about child care and their greater approval of day care centers (IV,VI). WIN participants strive more for social advancement, as reflected in educational ambitions for their children, an aspect of their own anticipatory socialization for modernizing (IV). The early remaking of the self and its attitudes eases entry into an occupation by persuading the agency worker that the mother is a good program risk (18).

Our measures of motivation to work, based on the expected contribution of work to the quality of social life, correlate with participation in WIN (IV). This too must be perceived by agency personnel. The personality attribute of activity rather than passivity is also associated with

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[18] WIN treats payment while learning and the expectation of increased earned income as a key to moving welfare mothers into regular work. As reported above, for AFDC mothers in general, earnings are a necessary but not sufficient reason for working. The finding is reaffirmed for WIN participants. Attitudinally, those valuing money highly are not more likely than the less enamoured to participate in WIN (IV). This is not surprising. Seekers after wealth do not look to WIN--a program that, at best, promises women jobs paying only a few dollars above minimum wage.

a tendency to enter the work world (Appendix D). Reflecting such an active orientation of the personality, self confidence is associated with WIN participation (IV). This self confidence, manifest as social out-goingness, also encourages agency workers to select the candidate for training (IV). The retreatists, described by Cole, are not often found among WIN trainees. They internalize the blame for their failure and tend to withdraw into themselves, to be passive (X) (19). Unlike the traditionalists, they do not tend to be active in other institutional spheres such as the family. Traditionalist and retreatist candidates, who self-select out of the program, persuade agency officials that they lack the attributes of working women, are not motivated to work, that the costs of bringing them into WIN would make it economically irrational or that they would be a management problem to the agency.

The Adaptation of Policy for Program Success

To enable themselves to "negotiate" with clients, state and local bureaucracies adapt the formally legislated policy to their complex social reality. The negotiation with the client and the program adaptation increase the probability that the program will attain its goal. To clarify this process, attention will, for the moment, turn from the AFDC mothers to the WIN related agencies.

Welfare policy, as legislated, makes but a token bow to the cultural distinctions among its clients. This was the essential point of the early pages of this chapter. Even the gross distinctions between traditionalists and modernizers are not recognized in the basic policy documents. The only traditionalists explicitly provided for are those who are infirm, elderly or excused from the program because they are caretakers of children or of other infirm family members. Traditionalists who are intellectually inadequate or psychopathological are not as easy to discover and provide for. The one in five welfare mothers identified as incompetent in this study had not been recognized as such by agency officials. There is little official recognition of the adjusted traditionalists, the mothers of large families, when all of their children are, at least, of school age. WIN assignment priorities allow deferrment of mothers of preschoolers and so attend to that type of traditionalism associated with the life cycle. The WIN legislation is designed on the assumption that most of the population consists of modernizers or that nearly all may become modernizers through exposure to the program. It is, thus, a tailor-made opportunity for modernizers to attain their personal goals. As has been noted, modernizing mothers of small children also find their way into the program on the basis of its voluntary assignment provisions.

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[19] Activity/passivity, as a personality factor, seems to have two functions. An activistic tendency, accompanying a general modernizing orientation, predisposes to WIN participation and to employment. Work further promotes a modernizing tendency resulting in cultural dislocation and personal strain for previously traditional women. At this stage, an active disposition assists in coping with the strain by offering self confidence, a belief in the possibility of success and courage to face change.

Were federal policy requirements rigid and clear, allowing for all of these contingencies, practical implementation would require an enormously detailed schedule. WIN policies are cut of cloth broad enough for tailoring to local exigencies. As policy directives pass from the Congress to the welfare client, tailoring is accomplished at each step. Legislated provisions are translated into administrative guidelines by the Department of Labor. These guidelines operationalize the legislature's intent. Federal guidelines, received by the State of New Jersey, are adapted, in the form of state guidelines, to the administrative procedures and to the welfare and manpower policy of the State. State guidelines are further adapted at the county level, sometimes in planned fashion and sometimes in the course of interaction between agency workers and welfare clients. Traditional local ways of dealing with problems influence the case by case application of guidelines.

Local memoranda transmit basic criteria for selection of nominees from the AFDC roster. Case-related selective criteria are applied subsequently in choosing participants from among the nominees. Each assignment is reviewed by an agency worker familiar with that mother's home situation and personal attributes. An implicit and sometimes explicit negotiation between the agents of policy and their clients fixes the final assignment.

The extent to which enforcement procedures are implemented is a measure of the breakdown in these negotiations. If the client resists assignment for other than allowable reasons, the agency may hold a hearing which may result in an interruption of welfare payments. If the agency refuses to assign a client to WIN training, the client may proceed against the agency. Neither of these conflicts occurred in our Camden experience. The study, however, was not designed to reveal the role of force or threat in the negotiation nor to detect breakdowns in negotiations in which the aggrieved party did not impose sanctions. Some participants dropped out of WIN without explanation but none were penalized. The threat of force, therefore, could hardly be credible.

Avoidance of conflict with the client is in the agency's administrative interest. The welfare agency is equipped to recruit, train and counsel but not to manage conflict--despite the frequency of conflict in contemporary agency life. By negotiating and minimizing conflict with clients, the program avoids bad publicity as well.

The agency is further motivated to negotiate placement with clients because of its interest in a successful program in which assignees attend classes, with some regularity, and are employed at the end of training. The record forwarded to state and federal monitors details welfare roll reductions, training slots filled, program completion and job placements. A good record improves the agency's chances of being entrusted with future local and state funding and of receiving continued authorization to manage manpower/welfare programs.

The WIN program, as an activity, is a transitory interloper in the relationship between a local agency and its clients. Both parties assume that, despite the manifest program goal, they will continue to interact. By choosing sympathetic and qualified candidates, the agency serves all of these interests--maintaining smooth functioning, a good record to forward to superordinate agencies and the protection of its client relations. The degree to which the caseworker's human sympathy for the client guides assignment decisions should not be underestimated.

Selection implies judgment by the agency of the suitability of training opportunities in the light of the situation, interests and competencies of the client. The surplus of candidates over training positions provides the flexibility for the agency to select from the formally designated lists. This flexibility is greater with respect to welfare mothers than to welfare fathers, since AFDC-UP priority assigns fathers to the first slots. The agency accepts volunteers from among the mothers and, in Camden, has not, as yet, resorted to compulsory assignments to fill the slots.

The negotiated adaptations are in eligibility and employability rules (20). Eligibility and employability rules in the WIN program say nothing about age within the range considered here, marital status or the number of children. Nevertheless, in practice, selection for the program favors the young and the single and those with a small number of dependent children (IV), that is, the most employable. Federal directives list women with dependent preschool children as deferrable. Yet, the proportion of mothers of preschool children among WIN participants is about the same as it is in the general AFDC population. Provision for accepting volunteers allows this adjustment. The agency, in practice selecting mothers of small families, but not mothers of large families, irrespective of the age of the children, tacitly recognizes the relevance of life style to success in WIN.

The agency is responsive to client attitudes toward WIN assignment, perhaps taking them as indices of potential conflict or of success in training or on the job. For instance, those who, as measured in this study, are strongly committed to the homemaker role, tend to be deferred from WIN (IV).

Agency personnel do not, however, seem to respond to more general personality factors which might affect success in training and in work. WIN selectees did not differ from those deferred from the program either in intellectual level or in personality pathology. They are, however, a bit more extroverted and, thus, show more enthusiasm for tasks, than AFDC mothers deferred from the program.

Community pressures may affect the selection process. Black leaders are perceived as demanding training opportunities for blacks. Our finding of slight discrimination in favor of WIN assignment of black women may be understood in this context (IV). Response to these pressures rather than resistance to them in the name of "equal opportunity" contributes to the administrative smoothness of the program.

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[20] Eligibility rules state the personal and social attributes of clients, their income level and dependency status, which admit them to welfare status, and fix the level of maintenance payments, social services, day care services, food stamps and medical benefits that the client may receive. Employability rules determine whether clients have the attributes required for referral to a job.

The agency's control of informational flow helps it avoid controversy over its selection decisions. Welfare mothers not selected by the agency for WIN participation are not likely to hear about the program. Agency personnel do not choose to restrict program information. They are, in fact, chagrined at the small amount of press attention given to program opportunities. Nevertheless, they are the prime sources of information for the welfare population on program opportunities. Lack of interaction among clients tends to restrict information to those specifically advised (IV).

Thus, self-selection combines with agency selection in determining participation in the WIN program. Modernizers present themselves as candidates. Agency officials sift the lists of welfare mothers and select the modernizers. Together, the agency officials and the clients adapt the program to local exigencies and increase its performance of record.

Some Impacts of WIN

The program has not yet had a chance to produce modernizers but we know that it is a rallying point for modernizers. The program assists them in reaffirming a modernizing orientation and enables them to implement it. In this sense, the effect of WIN precedes WIN.

Those who rally to WIN become increasingly appreciative of day care centers and increasingly ready to delegate homemaking functions but, at the same time, become more critical of the program itself (IV). The job training program may serve as a lightning rod for the tensions of cultural and social change and a foil for developing confidence. In this respect, negative attitudes are indices of change in the client and, thus, paradoxically, a sign of program success.

The cultural change of WIN clients is reflected through shifts in their general attitudes toward welfare, work and religion. WIN participants become less accepting of the welfare system and critical of those who, without sufficient justification, are dependent upon it. WIN participants increase their earnings a bit more than do those never contacted by the program. Significantly, those simply nominated to the program, without having participated, also increase their earnings more than those who are never contacted for the program. Thus, WIN training is not the only source of WIN impact. Perhaps the very atmosphere of WIN promotes this effect. Selection seems to favor those with a potential for increasing their income (IV). Nominees may begin to change their images of themselves toward that of working women and may give substance to the changed image by supplementing welfare with earnings either before or early in the program.

The conception of one's self as a member of the labor force seems to be a precondition for successfully negotiating participation in WIN. Nevertheless, the WIN program in Camden, within the narrow scope of this study, does not seem to move women into the labor force. Rather, WIN promotes the more extensive employment of those already in the labor force. It also seems to change the nature of their employment. The Camden program aids its clients in shifting from service to manufacturing employment. That WIN is, in this way, supportive of the industrial employment (IV), advances a modernizing orientation. Mothers in industry are more likely than those in traditional service occupations to develop a self perception as a worker, perhaps even to identify with a labor movement.

The inner change accompanying WIN participation is revealed by a deepening of personal religion. WIN trainees come to think of themselves as more religious (IV). Commitment to institutional religion, as measured by church attendance, however, does not deepen. A parallel appears between their critical attitude toward the manpower program and the religious institutions, on the one hand, while, at the same time, accepting the culture of both of these institutions, on the other hand. The self and its values may be affirmed against the institutional establishment as a foil.

Allowing for the limitations of this study, the WIN program, in some measures, realizes its stated goals. It does this, however, by adapting the program to allow a self-selection of modernizing women for the program. To touch the adjusted traditionalists would require more than an opportunity to learn and work. It would require a cultural change. Perhaps, in the long run, such a program as WIN, by demonstrating the success of modernizers, and by giving prominence to the modernizers, offers those in transition from traditionalism to modernizing a model and an encouragement.

A training and job placement program alone can neither substitute for an expanded labor market in maximizing opportunities, nor can it contribute to the re-establishment of complete families--both of which would go far in achieving the fundamental goal of reducing welfare rolls by aiding these families to become economically self-sustaining (21).

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[21] As described in Chapters I and IV, the exigencies of the research setting forced a shift in data gathering and analysis after the project had been initiated. The original intent had been to observe the internal workings of the WIN organization against the backdrop of data on trainees, to look at the program as a "transition" social system through which AFDC mothers passed into the world of work. The nascent character of the program during the period of study prevents a definitive statement on its socializing impact, its impact on the labor market or the performances of its personnel. The major research effort developed around the experience of AFDC mothers a few of whom became WIN trainees. The report has described some social and psychological mechanisms involved in a transition from welfare to work. These mechanisms are the essential focus for WIN or any other program designed to move welfare mothers toward economic independence and, in that sense, the decision to shift the focus of the study was salutary.

Appendix: A Note on Policy Implications of Scientific Knowledge

Some research is an exercise in systematic "common sense" with events classified in terms of their everyday meanings. Opinions about work and welfare may be taken at face value and presented according to the age, marital status, sex or race of those holding the opinions. Policy, formulated in these "common sense" terms, may take this information directly into account. Such information, if drawn from a good sample, provides descriptive generalizations about some larger population. The applicability of these generalizations to another population, say, a future one, under differing conditions is moot unless explanations are at hand of social, cultural and psychological mechanisms which determine the observed opinions. To this end, opinions or other behavioral events must be reformulated in theoretical terms. Policy which can draw on theoretical knowledge gains in power and sweep. However, the translation of theoretical concepts into policy involves the adaptation of intellectually abstracted ideas to directives for action. Further, the domain of events relevant for scientific formulation of the "problem" is not necessarily those relevant in the "common sense" formulation (22).

A manpower policy prescribes potential behaviors of agency officials which, it is anticipated, will affect behaviors of clients. Policy behaviors are selected as strategic interventions for changing client behavior. The behaviors cited in research may not correspond to those useful for such intervention. An attitude about work, as measured by verbal responses, may correlate with the decision to work but a direct attempt to change this attitude would not necessarily be an efficient way to affect labor force participation.

Another difficulty arises in translating research into policy because research seeks regularities among a large number of observations while policy directs attention to a particular case or class of cases and must consider additional elements in that situation. For instance, the number of

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[22] The terms poverty/welfare/manpower programs use common consent and legislation to circumscribe a domain of relevant behavior. The applied researcher accepts this definition, takes the population of poverty/welfare/manpower agency officials and their clients and abstracts elements from their behavior which his theoretical frame of reference defines as strategic. The strategic abstractions of this paper are designated by words such as motivation to work, organizational adaptation, legislative norms, intellectual competence and labor force participation, among others. These terms place the immediately observed event in a broader context--extending the understanding of the immediate event by permitting comparison with other events designated by these same terms. Motivation to work is assessed through responses to questions about work. Labor force participation, in this study, is measured by the individual's self-report of his occupational behavior. Such observables are not intended to classify the behaviors in common sense terms but to classify the actors, or their actions, in the way that the abstract variables would.

a welfare mother's dependent children is negatively correlated with her interest in entering the labor force. In a specific instance, however, having many children may reflect a mother's motivation to achieve and be associated with her interest in succeeding in an occupation. As in a clinical situation, the policy maker must articulate a series of "test results" and make a judgment (23). Simultaneous consideration of several variables assists in the specification of meaning. Most projects, including the present one, are, however, too limited in their scope to consider more than a few conditions. Thus, the general statements in this study must be approached with caution.

Research produces ideas but, by itself, does not tell us where to go with the ideas. A welfare/manpower policy could be designed to maximize financial independence, assure the highest quality cultural environment for children or minimize public expense. A policy might pursue one of these goals or try to optimize all three. Goal commitments, however, rest on a conception of the good and the moral life. Such assessments are not provided by scientific knowledge but by the society's social philosophy or religion. In our society, the operative values become explicit through a political process, a controlled struggle among various social philosophies.

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[23] Unfortunately, the manner of articulation is not obvious since research observables may change their meanings according to contexts. A large number of dependent children has, throughout this report, been interpreted to indicate orientation to a traditional life style on the part of the mother. The judiciousness of this interpretation rests on the fact that mothers of large families also tend to be more concerned with family life than with employment and to agree that a mother's place is in the home rather than at the workplace. If, as in the above illustration, motivation to produce children correlates with motivation to produce at work, a large family may reflect a drive toward childbearing rather than childrearing.